# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-88-164* *24 August 1988*

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## Soviet'68 Invasion of CSSR, Policies Reproved

*AU2108134888 Tirana ATA in English*
*0945 GMT 21 Aug 88*

["Press Review"—ATA headline]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia, the newspapers ZERI I POPULLIT and BASHKIMI carry articles. The article of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT written by the journalist Shaban Murati says among others:

Today 20 years are completed since the day when the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union launched the military aggression and occupied Czechoslovakia. As a criminal attack against a sovereign people and country, it was powerfully condemned by the freedom-loving peoples of Europe and the world. The Albanian people too sternly condemned the aggression and aggressors and expressed their internationalist solidarity with the Czechoslovak people in those difficult days in their history.

These 20 years that have elapsed since that day clearly prove the correctness of the stands and analysis of the PLA [AWP] for this aggression as well as the actuality of the historic lessons deriving from this event. "The armed interference of the Soviet revisionists in Czechoslovakia, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in those days in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, is a result of the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist state and of the most open and brutal implementation of the big state chauvinist and revisionist policy."

The Soviet aggression against Czechoslovakia is a shame in the history of the Soviet Union, that cannot at all be overcome with the silence on it and the less so to be justified with the so-called internationalist aid, which are being repeated these days by the official spokesmen and Soviet propaganda.

The Soviet leadership and propaganda want to avoid their responsibility and lull the public opinion to sleep, through the thesis that the present Soviet Union is different from the Soviet Union that launched the aggression against Czechoslovakia 20 years ago. One can hardly find greater insinuation. Perestroyka, the new political thought, are retouches that cannot cover the real essence and nature of the Soviet foreign policy, as a policy of a superpower that intends to dominate the peoples and states.

The limited sovereignty doctrine, affirmed with the aggression against Czechoslovakia, continues to remain one of the basic doctrines of the Soviet foreign policy. It would be naive to link it only with Brezhnev's name and period. The policy and strategy of the Soviet Union are those of an imperialist superpower, which resorts to the military means, as it did in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan as well, when the peaceful means yield no result. The forced withdrawal of the contingents of the Soviet Army from Afghanistan does not prove the "peaceful policy" of the Soviet Union, just as the withdrawal from Vietnam did not hinder America's launch later on the aggression against Lebanon and Grenada. "Just as the U.S. imperialists, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the 9th congress of the party, the Soviet social imperialists too have openly appeared with an international platform that embodies their ambitions and claims for world domination and hegemony."

The political circles of the big American and European bourgeoisie sought to make use of the anniversary of the Soviet aggression to repeat the attacks and slanders against socialism and Marxism-Leninism. But those who launched the aggression did not represent and defend socialism, just as the "spring of Prague" did not aspire to it. Interference, aggression, exporting of the revolution are alien to socialism.

## U.S. Candidates 'Close on Essential Issues'

*AU2408092588 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT*
*in Albanian 19 Aug 88 p 4*

[Shkelqim Beqari article: "The Presidential Candidates' Identical Electoral Platform"]

[Text] As part of the electoral campaign that began months ago in the United States, the Republican Party held its convention in New Orleans this week. The convention confirmed the candidacy for president of George Bush, the present vice president, and of Dan Quayle for the post of vice president, if Bush wins. Bush passed easily through his party's preelectoral procedure with the strong support of Reagan, who has said of the former CIA director and former chairman of the Republican Party that "I will make him the next president of the United States." The Democratic Party held its convention in Atlanta last month. For the first time in 20 years, it fixed upon a single candidate for president, Michael Dukakis, the governor of Massachusetts. This candidate found it more difficult to reach the top of the list, because he had several rivals. Senator Lloyd Bentsen was decided upon as vice-presidential candidate.

The Republican and Democratic party conventions mark the beginning of a new and final phase in the American electoral campaign. This is not because they finally announce the presidential candidates, but because they put forward the policies of each party for the coming 4-year administration. They bait the hook to catch the votes of the American electorate. These policies are therefore carefully drawn up, in accordance with all the United States' domestic and foreign concerns. At the phase we are now dealing with, the traditional, cynical, and offensive rhetoric among the rival candidates and their policies is left behind. This occurs because the most delicate phase, which decides the future winner, now begins. It is striking that the statements of Dukakis and Bush and the policies they have put forward at their respective party conventions do not in general cover the United States' domestic economic

problems. They are made from different starting points, but rely heavily upon the momentary state of the economy. In recent years, a revival of the American economy has been noticeable, which is reflected in such indicators as inflation, unemployment, the growth rate, and so forth. There has also been a noticeable tendency toward a lower foreign trade deficit, although only to a slight extent. But the Republican Party, as represented by Reagan and its candidate, Bush, cannot promise that these economic indicators will continue in the same direction in the long term. Bush himself admits that, if he is elected president, it will not be possible to eliminate the budget deficit, which has grown in the last 8 years by enough for 2 centuries, by the end of his administration. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party, under such circumstances, does not dare to launch an attack on what has been achieved up till now, because it cannot guarantee to promise more in a future administration. It is still less able to make dangerous promises about reducing the budget or trade deficits, when time has shown the impossibility of maintaining trends toward their reduction, not to mention their elimination. So, both parties promise to strengthen and reinforce the American economy in general, and quibble about the taxes they promise to reduce or about cuts in social spending.

At this stage, the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties rely more on United States foreign policy. This is because they know the electorate's sensitivity on this matter, especially when it is a question of the direct involvement of the United States. This was proved during the Irangate scandal, in which Reagan lost a great deal in keeping Bush in the clear. In contrast to earlier stages of the campaign, the present phase shows the two parties drawing closer even on finer points, while sharing fundamentally identical positions. At the center of their policies is the preservation of American hegemony through the maintenance and reinforcement of American positions at various points on the globe. "There is no area of the world where America may not have its interests," Bush declared at the Republican Convention. The platform of the Democratic Convention made the same point: "We will forge a new epoch of greatness for America." They aim to achieve this objective by continuing their constant haggling with the Soviet Union. Soviet-American dialogue has even been described by the Republicans as a necessary tool. Dukakis likewise values this cooperation, especially in disarmament, and seeks to carry it further forward.

In their policies as put forward at their respective conventions, the two rivals look to militarization and an increase in the military arsenal as a way of strengthening the United States' expansionist policy. Bush said clearly that the policy of a future 4-year administration under his leadership would be to confirm the policies of the Reagan Administration and to carry out the Strategic Defense Initiative program. "Star Wars" is described as an achievement of the Reagan Administration. The Democrats have not repudiated this program, but are merely seeking a small reduction in expenditure on it. They propose to transfer the funds saved by this reduction to conventional and chemical weapons. The Republicans also describe chemical and conventional weapons as "a restraining force," alongside limited stocks of nuclear weapons. This identical standpoint of the Republicans and Democrats is also presented to Western Europe and NATO from a position of patronage, as a guarantee of friendship and security for the coming 4 years.

With hegemony as a premise, the platforms present identical views on the world's sore points. Both Bush and Dukakis demand the maintenance of a military presence in the Persian Gulf, under the pretext of preserving freedom of navigation. Dukakis says that "The United States has the right to intervene in Central America," while Bush says that "The United States is ready to fight, from Central America to Africa and Southeast Asia." Bush categorically opposes the creation of a Palestinian state, while Dukakis supports Zionist policies.

The narrowing margin of time remaining before the presidential elections in November will show the Republican and Democratic party platforms drawing close together on other essential issues, despite differences of nuance. Their similarity is an expression of the identical interests of the groups of American capital the different parties represent. Their policies, as represented by Bush and Dukakis, warn of a further deepening of the expansionist and warmongering policies of the United States in the years to come.

**Zhivkov Receives CPSU's Yakovlev in Varna**
*AU2008192988 Sofia BTA in English*
*1740 GMT 20 Aug 88*

[Text] Varna, August 20 (BTA)—Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Mr. Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the CPSU, who is on holiday here.

Mr. Aleksandr Yakovlev delivered the cordial greetings and good wishes of the secretary general of the CC of the CPSU, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

In a warm and comradely atmosphere the two sides exchanged opinions on a number of theoretical and practical aspects of the restructuring under way in both countries, a powerful impetus to which was given by the 13th Congress of the BCP and the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the party conferences and plenums of the Central Committees of the parties which followed them. They observed that the dynamic innovatory activities are inspiring and rallying the Bulgarian and the Soviet Communists and all working people to active participation in the processes of restructuring and to a fuller revealing of the humane and democratic essence of the socialist society.

The two sides paid special attention to the seeking of new forms of cooperation between the BCP and the CPSU in the conditions of radical changes in social life. It was stressed that the scope of the processes under way, the deepening trend towards integration, the consideration of the diversity of national conditions and peculiarities predetermine the accumulation of a new international experience in the stage of raising socialism to a qualitatively new state. In this respect the BCP and the CPSU are making their contribution and at the same time adding to the forms and methods of their work. In this connection Mr. Todor Zhivkov stressed the ideological and political unity of the Bulgarian people around the strategic course of the BCP, materialized in the concept for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria. This concept is a system open to everything new which practical activities and theoretical thought produce and will produce in Bulgaria and in other countries, above all in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Aleksandr Yakovlev stressed the great importance of the comprehensive innovatory approach in the solution of the tasks of restructuring in all spheres of the socialist society. The two sides stressed the ever-growing leading role of the Communist parties in the conditions of innovatory changes. Now, when the BCP and the CPSU have developed programme-political stands on the issues of restructuring, the main efforts should be directed above all to the consistent translation of the adopted resolutions into concrete practical activities.

It was unanimously stressed that the further flourishing of Bulgaro-Soviet friendship and the deepening of all-round cooperation and getting closer between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are in the interest of the Bulgarian and the Soviet peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 20 August, in reporting Zhivkov's meeting with Yakovlev, adds: "Comrades Yordan Yotov and Dimitur Stanishev, as well as Viktor Sharapov, Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, also took part in the meeting"]

**Japanese Parliamentary Official Visits**
*AU2108193788 Sofia BTA in English*
*1645 GMT 21 Aug 88*

[Text] Sofia, August 21 (BTA)—Mr. Takujiro Hamada, parliamentary deputy minister of foreign affairs of Japan, paid a visit here from August 19 through 21 at the invitation of Mr. Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria.

The two sides reviewed the state of bilateral relations and exchanged views on major international issues.

The deputy foreign ministers noted the traditionally good relations between Bulgaria and Japan and discussed ways to their further promotion. They confirmed the wish of the two countries to promote and add to their mutually advantageous cooperation.

Mr. Mariy Ivanov acquainted his guest with Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans, directed towards strengthening the positive changes in the relations between the Balkan countries and towards promoting trust and goodneighbourliness in the region.

Discussing international issues the two deputy ministers stressed the great importance of the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

Mr. Takujiro Hamada was received by Mr. Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science and education and by Mr. Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

**Zhivkov Receives Brazilian CP Delegation**
*AU1208182188 Sofia BTA in English*
*1748 GMT 12 Aug 88*

[Text] Varna, August 12 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, today received a delegation of the Brazilian Communist Party (P.C.B.), led by the party's chairman Mr Salomao Malina.

Mr Todor Zhivkov familiarised the Brazilian guests with the revolutionary restructuring taking place under the leadership of the BCP in all spheres of public life in

Bulgaria. He also discussed certain aspects of the international activities of the BCP and Bulgaria, which contribute to the strengthening of peace and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and worldwide.

Mr Salomao Malina briefed his host on the efforts of the Brazilian Communist Party to widen its membership and influence, to build a new bloc of political forces which should carry further the democratic process in Brazil.

It was emphasised that the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and the entry into force of the I.N.F. Treaty are historic contributions to world peace and security.

Particular attention was paid to the positive changes in Latin America and more specifically in Brazil since the coming to power of the democratically elected civilian government of President Sarney.

The two party leaders emphasised that the renewal and the restructuring based on new political thinking represent an objective need not only for the ruling parties in the socialist countries, but also for the entire international communist movement. In this connection, the sides agreed on the need to bring the movement's purposes and tasks into line with present-day realities.

The sides share a desire for a further expansion of the relations of friendship and cooperation maintained between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Brazilian Communist Party in the best interests of the two friendly countries and peoples, for the sake of peace and social progress in the world.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 12 August, in reporting the above meeting, adds the following: "Comrade Milko Balev; Sergio Moraes, member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party; and Antonio (name indistinct), member of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, also took part in the meeting."]

## Zhivkov Sends Condolences on Ziaul Haq's Death

*AU2208113888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Aug 88 p 6*

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent a message to Ghulam Ishaq Khan, acting president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and president of the Senate, expressing deepest condolences on the tragic death of General Ziaul Haq, the country's president, and the other casualties of the aircraft crash. Sympathy has been expressed to the families and relatives of the casualties.

## Academician Dakov on Restructuring in Ecology

*AU2008145288 Sofia BTA in English 1346 GMT 20 Aug 88*

["Restructuring in Ecology Inevitable"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 20 (BTA)—In the field of ecology restructuring is not only necessary, it is inevitable. We may even assert that it has come somewhat later than it should have, Academician Mako Dakov, chairman of the All-National Committee of the Movement for Environmental Conservation and Reproduction, says in an interview published today in RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The academician stresses that Bulgaria needs an economy conforming with ecological requirements. It is necessary for the economic organizations and for the territorial units to develop an economic interest in the rational use and reproduction of the natural resources.

The present legal system should be changed in order to guarantee the implementation of the "new ecological policy" proclaimed by the Politburo of the CC of the BCP several months ago.

Academician Mako Dakov says that this year, as well as in the last few years, there have been allotted considerable funds to environmental conservation. But these funds are not being efficiently used. Only 35.9 percent of this year's plan for building purification installations has been fulfilled in the first six months of the year.

In connection with the recently held Fourth National Conference of the Movement for Environmental Conservation and Reproduction, Academician Dakov stresses that the movement should control and provide glasnost and create public intolerance towards those who do not abide by the ecological requirements. The movement has the right to propose before the state bodies to indict offenders of environmental laws.

"It is high time to put an end to speaking in general about the consequences of the anthropogenic activities of some abstract person", Academician Dakov says. He observes that every fact related to damage inflicted on the environment is the outcome of the activities of actual persons—scientists, designers, constructors and members of state commissions who have given their approval for the setting on stream of plants destroying the natural environment. According to the academician, propaganda and science in Bulgaria have for a long time been "inadmissibly passive" as regards violations of balance in nature.

At the same time the Bulgarian scientist stresses that these problems can be solved without opposing the interests of ecology to those of the economy.

## Polish Strikes Reported, PPR Spokesman Cited

*LD2308215488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Report by Pavel Kopecky, permanent Warsaw correspondent]

[Text] According to Polish radio reports illegal strikes are continuing in 12 coal mines in Silesia, and in 8 other enterprises, including Szczecin port, Stalowa Wola steelworks, Gdansk shipyards, and part of the Gdansk commercial port. True, this is the latest news, but the situation is changing hourly. There are also attempts to provoke illegal strikes in other mines and enterprises. Reports from Szczecin say that public transportation has started working partially and is being supplemented by buses borrowed from the production and commercial organizations of the voivodship.

In the city of Jastrzebie in Katowice district, where the greatest number of mines is on strike, a curfew was announced today, limiting freedom of movement of citizens from 2300 to 0500. The losses caused by the illegal strikes are increasing daily. They have already reached the sum of Z5 billion, or $6 million, which is causing growing apprehension today.

Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban said at today's press conference that the illegal strikes are inspired mainly by prominent officials of the former so-called Solidarity who have long lived mainly for the past. Now they want to avert the development—unfavorable for them—characterized by the significant reforms in Poland, new thinking, successful transformations in Polish-Soviet relations, and the gradual improvement in Polish relations with the West. These groups have used the strong growth of social injustice, stemming from the difficulties of supplying the market, growing inflation, and all the negative economic phenomena, failures and problems, which were noted at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, for the rapid provocation of the strikes. Before the government succeeded in mitigating the effect of these difficulties in Poland, a serious economic situation arose which was exploited for political action by people paid by the West. Since only a minority of workers in some towns are letting themselves be manipulated by them, these attempts have no chance of succeeding, the Polish Government spokesman said.

### Damage to Economy Noted

*AU2408090388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 88 p 6*

[Article by Pavol Minarik, RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondent, in the "Note" column: "Why Mines and Ports?"]

[Text] Disturbing reports are arriving from the southern and northwestern parts of Poland. First from Szczecin, where illegal strikes disrupted the loading and unloading of goods, as well as the city's public transportation, and from Katowice, where 10 coal mines have stopped production. Even though this involves different types of industry and the regions are 1,000 km apart, the demands of the strikers are identical: a one-time 50 percent wage increase, further social demands, and the restoration of "Solidarity." The consequence of this ill-conceived pressure might be the further deepening of the country's economic difficulties, the retardation of the process of reforms, and the postponement of the resumption of normal economic relations with other countries. At the same time the organizers of the strikes are strivi. ¿ for the return to the anarchy and political disruption of 1980-81.

However, the strikes have yet another common denominator—their attempt to hit the Polish national economy in its most sensitive spot. Bituminous, particularly coking coal, is the PPR's main export article and the source of foreign currency, as well as an irreplaceable raw material in its own economy. Its shortage is already beginning to show, its stockpiles in metallurgical enterprises are rapidly dwindling, and its exports to a number of states were halted on Saturday.

The situation in Szczecin harbor, which is a sort of a barometer of the turnover of the Polish foreign trade, is no less complex. The majority of Polish exports are checked out through Szczecin harbor. Here there are the transloading facilities of foreigner shippers, including Czechoslovak shippers. Unfortunately, the work there came to a standstill a few days ago.

In addition to the losses, which have already exceeded 3 billion zlotys, now comes the concern that relations with foreign customers will become disturbed, relations which Poland has been repairing with great difficulty after the years of crisis at the beginning of the decade. Moreover, the PPR has plans for establishing in Szczecin a duty-free zone open to foreign investment. This is to be one of the ways to reduce the foreign debt.

The objective of the organizers of the illegal strikes, among them former "Solidarity" chieftains, is to harm everything that could help the Poles' future.

## Further Official Comment on Prague Demonstrations

### Spokesman Holds News Conference

*LD2308172388 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] In the second half of the current year the federal government will discuss above all the progress and tasks of economic reform. This was stated at today's news conference in Prague by Miroslav Pavel, head of the press and documentation department of the Federal Government. Dusan Rovensky, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, then conveyed the Czechoslovak standpoint on the situation in Afghanistan. He said that

Czechoslovakia is in favor of an exact and consistent implementation of the Geneva agreement, fully supporting the activity of the United Nations. Dusan Rovensky then termed the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front a positive act. He also briefed the journalists on the 28-30 August trip of Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, to the FRG, and on the substance of his talks with Minister Genscher.

While our journalists' questions concerned yesterday's session of the government, the Western correspondents focused their undivided attention on Sunday's disturbances in Prague. Miroslav Pavel referred them to the data published by our communication media and reiterated that, according to the estimate of the National Security Corps, there were at most 4,000 people involved, and it is possible to designate roughly 1,000 people as the main participants. Other figures, published abroad, are exaggerated and distorted. One cannot forget that both Wenceslas and Old town Squares were filled in the afternoon and evening by strolling tourists and our citizens.

Questioning of the detained participants in the disturbances is being carried out according to valid Czechoslovak laws under the supervision of the prosecutor's office. The detainees are being released gradually. Naturally, this does not mean that they will not be called to account if they commit actions in contradiction with the law, Miroslav Pavel added. He also noted that the intervention of the security forces is being generally considered as deliberate. They were not provoked to inappropriate actions, as some of the participants obviously wanted. Only after signs of disturbances of public order and riotous behavior started appearing did they act in an appropriate but calm manner.

Miroslav Pavel also spoke of the political assessment of the disturbances and recalled the atmosphere created by the Western communication media long before 21 August. Some 500 Western journalists and 15 television staff people arrived in Czechoslovakia. The attempts to provoke disturbances and instability were confirmed by the action in Wenceslas Square of the group of members of the Italian Radical Party. It was a vain attempt, but typical of the way many people abroad would like to see our country—as a place of demonstrations, strikes, and unrest.

This, however, is the last thing the people and the government of this country need, emphasized Miroslav Pavel. Our society faces very complicated and important tasks connected with the key reform of the economy and its management. There the stimulating influence of political democratization must be felt, stimuli and strength must be drawn from the interest of people in proper management. Such a reform does not merely presuppose but actually demands very open discussion of all problems. A discussion, however, does not mean that we shall shout at each other on the street and throw bottles. The political culture of our people is too high for this, as actually was clearly shown by the Sunday evening actions in Prague which remained limited to a very small group of people, concluded Miroslav Pavel.

## Protests Not Discussed by Leaders

*LD2308205688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Prague, August 23 (TANJUG)—Czechoslovak Government News Spokesman Miroslav Pavel told foreign journalists today that Alexander Dubcek would most probably be able to travel to Italy to receive the honorary doctorate diploma in Bologna. Dubcek was removed from the post of first secretary of the Czechoslovak party 19 years ago, eight months after the intervention of the Soviet troops.

Pavel also said that Dubcek's request was being discussed by the competent bodies.

Pavel announced that the Czechoslovak Government did not discuss the demonstrations, held on the 20th anniversary of the "Prague Spring" three days ago in the Czechoslovak capital, at its session yesterday. He added that the "government will not deal with the events, because the most significant questions are undoubtedly the economic reform and the anticipated process of democratization".

According to the observers, the government's reaction and the fact that today's statement on the meeting between Czechoslovak party leader Milos Jakes and the senior party and security service officials did not mention the demonstrations as a topic of the meeting show Prague's ambition to draw attention away from the event.

## Western Provocation Campaign Alleged

*AU2308115788 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Aug 88 p 2*

[Karol Malak article in the "Note" column: "Provocateurs and Their Managers"]

[Text] What occurred in Wenceslas Square in Prague on Thursday [18 August] before noon only reaffirmed that certain forces in the West had prepared a plan for an anti-Czechoslovak campaign and provocative acts in connection with the 20th anniversary of the August 1968 events. When they publish their false hypotheses and half-truths in the bourgeois press, television, and radio, it is their problem; they are degrading themselves in the eyes of a discerning reader in the West, especially one that has visited Czechoslovakia and seen the situation in our country with his own eyes. However, our public is incensed at the fact that enemies and ill-wishers of our endeavor to perfect socialism do not know the limits and sent provocateurs to our country dressed up as tourists, whose task was to try to stir up antistate sentiments.

However, that intention did not come off, and the provocateurs from the Italian Radical Party, as well as their managers who had sent them to our country, had to suffer profound disappointment. Their attempt to unfurl a slanderous banner in Wenceslas Square and the distribution of leaflets in our other cities did not meet with the response the initiators of those actions expected. Aside from indignation over the activity of foreign "tourists," among the dozens of Prague inhabitants looking on in Wenceslas Square there were also those who were incensed. A reporter from the Austrian news agency APA noted in his report that several Czechoslovak citizens watching the provocateurs described them as "idiots." The activists from the Italian Radical Party, as well as other persons from other West European countries are certainly not idiots, but it is sad that for a few coins they let themselves be misused for acts aimed against the Czechoslovak people.

We are in favor of tourism and gladly welcome any foreigner who comes with good intentions. However, it would be preferable for "tourists" such as those that cropped up in the capital on Thursday to stay home.

### Jakes Addresses Interior Ministry Meeting

*LD2408053188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] In Prague today the nationwide aktiv of party officials of the departments of the Interior Ministry and the National Security Corps discussed significant topical security tasks in the present period of building socialist society.

Taking part in the aktiv was Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He stressed the significance of the present period of economic and social restructuring, whose issues were discussed in detail by the seventh and the ninth sessions of the Party Central Committee. Milos Jakes went on to recall the main strategic decisions which were adopted with the participation of the broad public and which now must be implemented in a disciplined, unified, and dedicated manner.

Although we lay the main stress on transformation in economic tasks, Milos Jakes said, we must not forget that restructuring has a comprehensive character and touches all spheres of the life of the society. He said that restructuring does not represent the negation of all that has been done. On the contrary, one must use all the positive experiences, labor, and dedication of the people to achieve qualitatively better results in overcoming all that is obsolete and has impeded our forward path. We must overcome indifference, laziness, and stereotypes in thinking and actions.

Milos Jakes went on to discuss the decisive tasks in improving the quality of work of the Ministry of the Interior. He stressed that what is involved is, above all, increasing the security organs' share in strengthening socialist legality and public order, strengthening the protection of rights in the interest of the citizens. It is necessary to struggle even more efficiently against negative phenomena such as corruption and bribery, violent criminal activity, illegal trading with foreign currency, and drug addiction. The situation also requires principled improvement of the protection of citizens' ownership rights.

In the sphere of protection of socialist ownership, one must consistently act against all forms of economic criminality, and help prevent exceptional events such as accidents, fires, and so on. Much greater help must be given to the security components by economic and state organs, organizations of people's administrations, party bodies in enterprises and organizations, as well as by trade unions, youth unions, and other social and interest organizations. The role of the employees of the Interior Ministry is vital in the struggle against internal and external antisocialist forces.

Milos Jakes stressed party organizations, their aktiv of officials, as well as all the members of the CPCZ play a very important role in implementing the security policy of the party and the state. The meaning of all the measures to improve the Interior Ministry's standard of work must be to strengthen the discipline of all the employees and improve their political, professional, and moral standards. The basic requirement is firm ties with the people by the National Security Corps, the Border Guard, and the troops of the Interior Ministry. It is from this class tie that they were born and it is only in it that they can continue to fulfill their mission, Comrade Milos Jakes said at the nationwide aktiv of party officials of the departments of the Interior Ministry and the National Security Corps.

### 1968 Reforms 'Sabotaged' by 'Right-Wingers'

*AU2308092188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 88 p 3*

[Editorial article: "Defense and Development of Socialism as the Indivisible Task of the Party and the People"— boldface passages as published]

[Text] Revolutionary historical events are not and cannot be merely a thing of the past. They are the decisive links in the historical progress which has shaped our present and built the basic pillars of our future life. They cannot be separated from today, from the path of further developing socialism and enhancing its authority and attractiveness in the complicated struggles for social progress and peace in the world.

It is therefore quite logical that today (perhaps more so than at any time in the past) we are again going back to the sources from which our revolutionary movement has grown, to the sources from which it has been drawing strength, both in the past and at present. In this way we learn about the contemporary revolutionary process and its entire historical continuity, with emphasis on the

lasting validity of those revolutionary values which are being adopted, preserved, and developed by our working people, under the leadership of their vanguard, the Communist Party.

Our society has now entered a period of great socioeconomic and social transformation. At the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session in December 1987 the party formulated a program for the further course of implementing the line of the 17th congress; it is oriented toward accelerating economic and social advancement, and its main element is the comprehensive restructuring of our economic mechanism and the intensification of socialist democracy. It is no coincidence that the CPCZ Central Committee has termed the basic changes which must be carried out in the spheres of policy, economy, social advancement, and culture, but also in the party's own work, **"steps of great revolutionary impact"** and **"the most significant changes since February 1948."**

The working people's February victory over reaction (which opened a new phase in the history of our nations) was the culmination of the historic struggle for our national and social liberation. It was therefore quite logical that a new force took its place at the head of our nations—the workers class and its revolutionary vanguard, the CPCZ.

The party has traversed a difficult but victorious road in the complicated class battles for the working people's rights and for national and state identity. Since its inception, it has gradually matured into a new kind of party, overcoming in the process of Bolshevization the vestiges of social democratism and sectarian radicalism. The Fifth CPCZ Congress (which elected a new party leadership, headed by Klement Gottwald) became an important landmark in the party's life.

During the world economic crisis in the thirties, the Communist Party arose to defend the most basic social and political interests of the broad masses of working people. Soon after that it developed a mass movement of popular, democratic, and patriotic forces to defend the republic against fascism. In the fatal days of the Munich betrayal (in a few days we will be recalling its 50th anniversary) it proved its profoundly national nature and its patriotism. In the unappeasable fight against the fascist invaders, the courage and devotion of its members and its clear-cut program won the party the support of the people's masses; the party became the recognized political force in the broad National Front.

The liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army and the victory of the national and democratic revolution established the conditions for socialist revolutionary transformations in our fatherland.

Then February 1948 opened the road for the building of socialism in our country. The formerly oppressed and exploited workers class became the ruling class. In Czechoslovakia, too, the working people's ancient dream became a reality: Man's exploitation by man was eliminated. Our people became the conscious creators of their own destinies. The working people's living standards and their prospects radically changed.

The alliance with the Soviet Union prevented imperialist forces from openly meddling in our internal affairs. Our nations decided on their further development freely, in a sovereign manner. World reaction's plans to restore capitalist conditions in Czechoslovakia and to reinstate our country's dependence on the imperialist powers were frustrated.

**The victory won by Czechoslovakia's working people in February 1948 was also most significant from an international viewpoint, since it was simultaneously a victory of the international communist and workers movement and of the progressive and democratic forces in the world. It unambiguously fixed the orientation of our foreign policy toward unbreakable friendship, alliance, and cooperation with the Soviet Union, and our fatherland became a firm component of the emerging socialist community.**

The results achieved in socialist construction prove that our working people, led by the Communist Party, have successfully mastered their complicated revolutionary task: to build the foundations of socialism. The devoted work of the workers class, the farmers, and the intelligentsia, of the members of both the older and younger generations, has given birth to a feat of which we can be justly proud.

Nevertheless, the road of building socialism was no easy road. Quite a few obstacles and difficulties had to be overcome on it. The rapid and complicated development of our society, in which the party and the workers class had to learn the art of guiding and ruling people, was not without mistakes and tragic errors. Apart from the difficulties due to the novel, complicated tasks, socialist construction was accompanied by certain deformations.

The sixties were a particularly complicated period of development. After building the foundations of socialism, it was essential to cope with a number of new, extremely difficult tasks: to provide for the transition to intensive economic development, effect significant structural changes in the production base (while implementing the results of scientific-technical development), introduce corresponding changes into the methods of managing and planning the national economy, continue to develop socialist democracy, and finally resolve the relations between nationalities.

In line with the demands of the new stage of socialist development it became necessary to improve ways of asserting the Communist Party's leading role in society, and make provisions for the party to fulfill its mission as the working man's revolutionary vanguard in the search

for and pursuit of new paths of development, in attentively and sensitively dealing with the interests and needs of the individual classes and strata of the society, of our nations and nationalities.

The deliberations of the 12th CPCZ Congress, and especially its 13th congress, responded to these vitally important demands. Certain measures were adopted, but they were not successfully linked with the essential changes in the working methods used by party and state agencies or in the cadre sphere. The problems were resolved only halfheartedly or were circumvented; their significance was obfuscated. This led to tensions in the party and society; dissatisfaction grew. The party began to lose the people's trust, its ability to act, and its links with the people. The result was a profound crisis in the party and society toward the end of the sixties.

Betrayal of Post-January Policy [subhead]

The party's Central Committee considered the solution of this extremely complicated situation at the December 1967 and January 1968 sessions. Most working people in the CSSR received the changes stimulated by the January plenum with satisfaction: They reflected the imperative need to solve society's maturing political, economic, and social problems. January 1968 stimulated (particularly among communists) the resolve to develop all that was positive and good in the preceding years, while removing the weaknesses that had gradually arisen in all spheres of our life. The party members expected the leadership, headed by A. Dubcek, to come up with a draft program which would become the platform of the party's and society's unification in the effort to rectify mistakes and shortcomings, do away with their causes, and open up scope for further progress. However, the program of action adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee at its April 1968 session did not fulfill these expectations, less because of its actual content (after all, it was the result of a kind of compromise), than because the right-wingers had already unleashed a power struggle and felt no need for a program unifying people for constructive activity. From the moment the program of action was adopted, they made no effort to implement it; they even sabotaged and frustrated it.

Already during the first days and weeks after its January [1968] session, the CPCZ Central Committee explored the ground and all available possibilities, gathering strength and allies. Noting the indecision of a part of the leadership, and convinced that it could use Dubcek as a shield, the party started a broadly organized drive, taking advantage of the significant fact that the party leadership had not informed the general public of the course of the CPCZ Central Committee's January session.

The open, "two-round" show-down with the opportunistic right-wing forces in the party took place at the district conferences in March. In the "first round" the right-wingers failed in their attempt to seize key positions in party district committees (due to the resistance of the healthy forces); they therefore concentrated on "round two," organizing a media campaign (in which every opponent was branded a "conservative" and an adversary of the January session) and escalating an atmosphere of intimidation. Under the motto "New policy can be pursued only with new people," honest, competent communists (and not those who were demonstrably incapable of coping with their tasks) were relieved of their functions and often replaced with politically and morally unstable people, or else with frankly right-wing exponents.

A current of opposition began to gather around the revisionist right-wing forces in the party; it gradually penetrated an increasing number of organizations, creating its own political platform and organizational structure. Right-wingers gradually filled important positions on all levels (including party leadership) with their own people, or else with people who joined them for various reasons or who capitulated before them. They made skillful use of combined pressure from above and below, from leading party and state agencies, and from the media; and organized rallies and various resolutions, and petitions, presented as the party's and working man's standpoints (although they were often inspired by small groups or individuals). Since the party forces that were loyal to Marxism-Leninism received no support from the leading party agencies, and since they were mostly unable to express their views in public, they were gradually pushed back onto the defensive and into isolation.

The fact that the attack on the foundations of socialism was conducted mostly by people who held a party membership card spelled out to the public that this was a clash between the protagonists of February and its adversaries—between "progressive" and "conservative" communists, between those who wanted to improve society's advancement and the defenders of obsolete methods. This false picture was constantly nourished in the people's minds by the media, in which right-wing opportunists had already acquired important positions during the sixties. This was also why they gradually succeeded in deceiving the broad general public, and even in bamboozling many honest people.

The deep political shifts throughout our republic became apparent at the beginning of May, when various political streams of right-wing and antisocialist forces—primarily represented by counterrevolutionary organizations such as KAN [Club of Involved Nonmembers of the Party] and K 231 [club of former political prisoners sentenced according to Paragraph 231]—made their public appearance.

This induced certain CPCZ Central Committee members to demand at the May session that the party mobilize all its healthy forces, assert its influence on the media, and consolidate its instruments of power. Even Alexander Dubcek had to concede in his final statement at the session: **"At the present stage, a serious danger**

**threatens to disrupt this process—the danger that antiparty, antisocialist forces could be formed, which could raise the issue of a power struggle."**

The communists in regions, districts, plants, and cooperatives were pointing out the increasing danger. They knew that most working people disagreed with the blustering organizers of campaigns, that the chaos and loss of certainties displeased the people. The party was still strong enough to wage a political struggle against the oppositional, antiparty, and antisocialist elements. What it lacked was a united, firm, resolute leadership, capable of action. The results of the May session made the communists conclude that Dubcek and the party leadership realized the danger threatening the party and the republic, and that they wanted to ward it off. The rightwingers' offensive onslaught a few days later did nothing to confirm this optimism; it showed, however, what a low value A. Dubcek set on his words and promises.

The hundreds of letters from rank-and-file communists, in which they voiced their fears for the fate of the party, the country, and socialism, were primarily addressed to him. The letters contained warnings, pointed things out, appealed for the mobilization of forces to save the achievements of February [1948].

"I think," one of the letters stated, "that it is impossible to revert to the situation prior to December and January [1967-68]. The party's awareness has grown. I am not defending the mistakes made in implementing the party line, or the former party leadership. In fact, all these things had upset me—other things did, too, such as when I saw the declining activity and commitment, the growing indifference and apathy. I felt hurt when it seemed as though the people no longer understood our communist policy.... I do not want socialist legality to be violated. But I am in favor of virtually reinstating this socialist legality today, in many respects. I want innocent people who have been unjustly sentenced to be rehabilitated; but I do not want our party and our state to send "somebody" a letter of apology for the just revolutionary acts of our socialist revolution. I want the political line of the party to be the best there is—I want it to be a creative communist line, not a revisionist or dogmatic one. I want our party leadership to take the critical views of responsible Soviet, German, Hungarian, Polish, or other comrades into account, and not regard them as meddling.

"I do not want our foreign policy in particular to be a source of conflicts between the socialist countries, so that foreign capital can make skillful use of this. And it is planning to do so, one can see this already—what its press writes also confirms this."

We could go on quoting for a long time today from the letters filed in the party's archives. They are valuable historical material, clearly documenting fears for the socialist nature of the state, the revolutionary profile of the party, the party's existence. Dubcek, Smrkovsky, Kriegel, and others refused to listen to these voices of party members and of people without party membership.

In this context, we cannot fail to recall the national meeting of the aktiv of the People's Militia in June 1968, when 11,000 militiamen publicly expressed their determination to energetically defend the cause of socialism and the alliance with the Soviet Union. Let us also recall the letter from 99 of our fellow citizens working in the Praga automobile works in Prague, and the members of their families, which they sent to the USSR:

**"...We will never permit the prewar or pre-February situation to return. Using the words of our Klement Gottwald, we guard our friendship with the USSR like the apple of our eye; and we declare that we will let nobody, be he seated ever so high, denigrate or slander our friendship, which was cemented by knowing who will not betray us and to whom we should turn when the need is greatest...."**

The letter was signed not only by party members in the People's Militia, but also by people without party affiliation, and by members of the youth union. The letter itself, like the letter sent by 40 former partisan commanders to their Soviet comrades-in-arms, was a responsible statement by highly aware members of the workers class. It was these people who, in that eventful period of history, acccomplished what their loyalty to the revolutionary legacy demanded of them.

The publication of the counterrevolutionary platform "2000 Words," which contained direct instructions for acts of violence and for the destruction of the socialist system, was an expression of the frank and coordinated onslaught of reaction.

The logic of political struggle led the right-wingers in the party to cooperate more and more closely with openly antisocialist forces. A political bloc of right-wing revisionist and antisocialist forces was gradually established. Although its individual parts differed in ideology and tactics, they were united in fighting the party and the alliance with the Soviet Union. The bloc's activities were closely linked with the world's ideological centers of anticommunism.

Plans and Deeds of Domestic and Foreign Reaction [subhead]

"Czechoslovakia," the document "Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" points out, "has been the target of broadly founded political and ideological subversion by imperialism since February 1948; however, in a situation in which the reins of development were firmly held by the party, this subversion failed to yield the expected results. **But, as soon as the opportunist and antisocialist right-wing forces started openly attacking the basic principles of the party and of socialism in our country, and**

**their disruptive activities no longer met with active resistance, then the imperialist activity from abroad could also start a vehement onslaught. This was the substance of the harsh class struggle, not so much based on the particular historical features of our society, as representing the long-term interest of world reaction and its intensive effort to gain control over Czechoslovakia."**

Can we believe that the party leadership of the time really did not realize what was as clear as daylight, and obvious even to people observing the situation in Czechoslovakia from a distance—for instance (at that time) to the Italian Communists? L'UNITA, the paper of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), wrote in March 1968:

**"The road which Czechoslovakia is about to choose is not an easy one. The political battle which has developed has had its harsh moments, and nobody can say that the future will not bring many more. Imperialism is observing the current process in the country, hoping to worm its way into it and deliver a crushing blow to socialism. West Germany hopes to make use of the political battle in Czechoslovakia for changing the equilibrium in Europe to its own advantage."**

It was true that the West observed the developments in Czechoslovakia with great interest, making no secret of its hopes. For instance, British radio stated as early as 27 March 1968: "So far, we can only welcome the liberalization process in Czechoslovakia, and regard it as the first significant step, **as the beginning of a development which (with time) should not, and probably will not, halt before the socialist system...."**

In June 1968 Zbigniew Brzezinski arrived in Prague; as director of the Research Institute for Communist Affairs at Columbia University in New York (and since 1968 also adviser to the U.S. Secretary of State), he considered himself an expert on Czechoslovakia. Even at the beginning of the sixties, this spiritual father of the theory of convergence (the drawing closer, or merging, of socialism and capitalism into a unified system based on the scientific-technical revolution, while preserving private ownership of production means) found a number of grateful pupils in our country; he even gave a lecture in Prague on "The End of Leninism" (!!) as far back as 1964. In 1968 this prominent Western anticommunist ideologist was invited by the International Policy and Economy Institute to lecture on a quite inconspicuous topic: "An American View of the Present World."

**"We regard what is happening in your country with sympathy and interest,"** he stated. **"From our viewpoint, from the viewpoint of New York, we welcome what is happening here and we think that it is good—precisely because it is essentially a reassertion of old values in a new form, a construction linking past history and historical values and traditions with the newer structures and goals that are the result of Czechoslovakia's more modern history."** He also added: **"In this way, we proceed from the view that recent events in East Europe are the consequence of this surfacing of political cultures which already existed in the past...."**

From the very beginning, the developments in Czechoslovakia were also analyzed by Professor Herman Kahn, a theoretician and proponent of militant anticommunism. He played the prophet in the U.S. magazine FORTUNE in November 1968. According to his analyses, a strong West German influence would assert itself in our country if the developments in Czechoslovakia were to proceed "normally." The activities of the opposition parties would ensure the "general deterioration of the Communist Party's influence." In politics, the state "might even rely on social democracy with capitalist undertones." A coup [zvrat] would occur in Poland, as well as a "de facto isolation and weakening of the East German regime." A "probable final withdrawal of one or several East European countries from the Warsaw Pact" would follow...and so forth.

The West German press, too, divulged what some circles in the FRG were putting into the context of the so-called Prague Spring. As early as 28 March 1968, DIE WELT provides the following advice: "What stems from the Prague Spring for us, for our foreign policy?" In the light of evolution—and we do not know whether this will also affect other countries—one should continue our present German foreign policy with initiative, and without beating the drum...."

The fact that the rightist forces in Czechoslovakia were carefully abiding by instructions and advice from the West is attested to, among other things, by Jaroslav Brodsky (one of the founders of the antisocialist K 231 organization) who said the following at Slovansky Island on 31 March 1968:

**"Of course, we must proceed absolutely carefully, absolutely sensibly.... It is obvious that we will never be communists; of course, we cannot fight them openly. Of course this is not a capitulation; it is, in any case, a diplomatic move. Today you no longer go hunting hares with a drum."**

And one more typical document—the "Congress Work Program," drafted in the summer of 1968 by the proponents of the right wing of the Social Democratic Party of the time. It says: One has to "proclaim the demand to leave the Warsaw Pact and declare the CSSR a neutral state along the lines of Austria and Switzerland and, eventually, call a nationwide referendum on proclaiming neutrality."

/"For the time being/, one should not discuss Czechoslovakia's eventually joining the EEC, and also, /for the time being/ [passages between slantlines published in widespace] one should not discuss joining NATO...."

Not only our foreign political orientation was attacked by overt antisocialist forces, our bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were also disparaged and attacked—even within the party. This was also affirmed by General V. Prchlik, then head of the Defense and Security Committee of the CPCZ Central Committee, who—at a press conference in Prague on 15 July 1968—sharply attacked the Warsaw Pact and openly cast Czechoslovakia's participation in that organization in doubt.

Our allies drew attention to the danger threatening socialism in Czechoslovakia, they tried to help the party leadership, they drew its attention to the threat of civil war in the country, to the weakening of the Republic's internal and international stability. It was, above all, on their recommendation that a number of bilateral and multilateral meetings were held. However, the right wing in the party leadership did not attach the necessary importance to those warnings and their advice, and tried to conceal our allies' concern from the public and, in particular, Dubcek also tried to conceal it from the Central Committee and from some members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

**All that was taking place in Czechoslovakia in the summer months of 1968 was not petty feuding about various alternatives concerning the future socialist arrangement of society, about methods of reviving and improving it, as some protagonists of the "Prague Spring" are trying to depict it today, but a quite seriously meant attempt at a political coup d'etat, at fundamentally changing the political power structures, at revenge for February.**

A broad anticommunist coalition formed in that period, and a new structure for a political system came into being. A gradual disintegration of the leading bodies of the party and the socialist state began. The political crisis reached such a stage that the results of the socialist revolution were directly imperiled. The undermining activity of the rightist and antisocialist elements affected the stability and security of Czechoslovakia. The leadership of the party and the state lost credibility with a considerable part of our public and our allies. By means of its indecisive course it was ceding positions to hostile forces until the historical chance, created in January 1968, was—for all practical purposes—wasted, until it also lost the ability to organize a decisive action to suppress the counterrevolutionary developments. Czechoslovakia faced the threat of the repetition of the Hungarian tragedy of 1956. Such a development did not occur, thanks to the international assistance of our friends, who realized that Czechoslovakia in 1968 was becoming a springboard for an attack on the world socialist community, that a grave and acute danger threatened the CSSR and the whole of the socialist community.

It was an act of international solidarity, which—as the "Lessons From the Critical Development" stresses—"corresponded to the common interests of the Czechoslovak working people, as well as those of the international workers class, the socialist community, and the class interests of the world communist movement."

The Party—the Inspirer, the Organizer, and the Guarantee of Restructuring [subhead]

We know what an immense effort had to be expended to overcome the crisis and its consequences, and lead our society onto the path of the further upward socialist development. That, above all, presupposed cleansing the party, resuming its activity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, strengthening the moral and political unity of the party and the working people, and winning their trust and support through convincing deeds.

By political means, the new party leadership headed by Comrade Gustav Husak, which started to form after the April session of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1969, succeeded, in a short span of time, in mastering the consolidation process in the party and society, and in restoring the values of socialism in our country.

The past 20 years have affirmed the correctness of the party's course in resolving the consequences of the crisis development and of the line set by the 14th CPCZ Congress for further building up the socialist society in our fatherland.

However, the new stage of the development of socialism, inseparably connected with worldwide developments, created a new situation, and with it new problems. The 17th CPCZ Congress assessed this state of affairs and determined a line for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. In this we rely on the experience of Soviet communists, gained in the implementation of the line aimed at restructuring national life, experience which was also expressed in the deliberations and conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. We, too, have embarked on the path of restructuring, which we see as the continuation of revolution under new conditions.

The party seized the historical initiative and came forward as the main force of restructuring, fully aware that it serves the working people. It oriented restructuring toward all spheres of society and determined its revolutionary content. **"The important thing,"** Comrade Milos Jakes stressed at the seventh session last December, **"is getting the entire party and society moving in the interest of the development of socialism, our country, and its people. Every honorable citizen has his place and opportunity in this endeavor."**

The important thing is to deepen and develop all values of socialism and build socialist society on the scientific foundations of the creative theory of Marxism-Leninism.

As a revolutionary process, restructuring requires qualitatively new approaches, and places high demands on all activities of the Communist Party as the revolutionary vanguard of the workers class and the leading force of the entire society.

It was precisely with this responsibility that the party, at its ninth CPCZ Central Committee session last April, assessed the preparedness of the CPCZ organizations and bodies for restructuring, and adopted conclusions for mobilizing the communists, for fully developing the party's work in the spirit of Gottwald's slogan "Facing the masses!"

The service which our party provides to the cause of the working people, socialism, and peace is something that it regards today—as it did in the past—as being the greatest honor and the noblest mission. Today, more than ever in the past, it abides by the most profound knowledge and the most important legacy of Klement Gottwald:

**"Like the apple of our eye, we must safeguard and foster the unity, the greatness, and the ability to act of our party—the CPCZ. We cannot repeat often enough what the party means. Without the party there would be no people's democratic republic. Without the party there would be no victorious February. Without the party there would be no guarantee that we do not leave the socialist path. Today the CPCZ personifies the unity of our workers class and its leading role in all spheres of our public life. All the greater responsibility rests on the party, on all of us, on every one of us."**

These words are part of the textbook of our party. More than once we have realized their profound truthfulness after a bitter and painful process of having learned our mistakes and errors.

## NOVOSTI Correspondent on '68's 'Anti-Sovietism'

*AU2308104188 Bratislava NEDELNA PRAVDA in Slovak No 33 19 Aug 88 pp 12, 13*

[Article by NOVOSTI correspondent Yevgeniy Chernov: "August 1968—Lights and Shadows"]

[Text] A sentence from Academician A. Sakharov's article in the volume "There Is No Other Way," which was published on the eve of the 19th party conference, will not leave me in peace: "Another attempt at 'restructuring' within the framework of the socialist community was suppressed by tanks in 1968." The sentence is about Czechoslovakia; it was these very tanks that brought me to Bratislava.

From my viewpoint, I rendered the Czechoslovak people internationalist assistance. From the viewpoint of Academician A. Sakharov and A. Dubcek, former first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, I "suppressed" restructuring and halted a process of democratization and reforms that was under way in Czechoslovakia.

The CPCZ Central Committee session of December 1970 approved the document "Lessons Drawn From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress," which stressed that the internationalist assistance of August 1968 prevented counterrevolution from unleashing mass terror in the country.

Who am I? Who are the thousands of Soviet soldiers who entered Czechoslovakia in August 1968? Internationalists, or an occupying force? Much is being said and written in the Soviet Union today about "Afghan" soldiers. The matter there is clear, they are internationalists. And what about the boys of those days, who today are men in their prime; shall we forget them? Shall we keep silent about them? Alas, they really had a very hard time in the first days, and not all of them returned home. Could it be that this year we shall not even pay homage to the memory of two NOVOSTI journalists, K. Nepomyashchiy and A. Zvarykin, who on 21 August died under the debris of a shot-down helicopter, and of those unknown members of a tank crew who drove their heavy vehicle into a ditch to avoid running into a group of women trying to hold them up?

In an interview for the newspaper L'UNITA of 10 January this year, asked by the correspondent whether he thought that the "military intervention of 21 August 1968 could have been avoided," A. Dubcek replied: "Had the CPCZ been headed by the leadership that is there now, the military invasion by the armies of five socialist countries in Czechoslovakia could not have taken place...." [quote as published; in the interview Dubcek actually referred to the leadership of the CPSU]

Ifs.... Had all the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh been dealt with on time, armored personnel carriers would not have appeared in the streets of Yerevan this June. How often some known social representatives and former, as well as contemporary, historians and journalists deliberately manipulate historical events! From the positions of today they revise history, shunt political figures hither and thither, from past epochs to the present, and vice versa, pronouncing verdicts on those whom they used to serve body and soul. And they are doing all this using the magic word "if...." If history could be repeated according to their intentions and plans, it would not be history. History is made with a fair copy right away, without a concept.

As a matter of fact, I too am firmly convinced that had G. Husak and not A. Dubcek been elected first secretary at the January 1968 session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the "military invasion could not have taken place."

Yet fate decreed that A. Dubcek should become first secretary and, as I see it, no one else could become first secretary then. This election was received in the Soviet Union with hope. The preceding 2 to 3 years in Czechoslovakia had been very tense. It would be naive to assume that Soviet Communists, but also the majority of the Soviet people, were indifferent as to who would stand at the helm in Czechoslovakia. The memories of the events of 1956 in Hungary had not vanished. Upon his election, in the first days of his activity in the post of first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Alexander Dubcek solemnly declared: "The past years have confirmed the great importance of alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union for the whole life of our Republic." A sigh of relief went through the Soviet Union.

It is natural that the new Czechoslovak leadership, which took up economic and political changes, also was not indifferent as to what stand the Soviet Union would assume toward the new policy.

When L. Brezhnev came to Prague for an official visit on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the February victory, correspondents asked him: "What is the Soviet Union's attitude toward the reforms in Czechoslovakia?"

The reply was published in newspapers and broadcast on the radio virtually every day. I even saw a poster with the words: "This is your internal affair."

I think that there was not a bit of hypocrisy in this reply. Although the economic and democratic changes involved also had somewhat vague nuances for the Soviet Union of those days, they did not jeopardize the foundations of socialism and cooperation with the socialist countries. That was the main thing.

A certain part of the leaders of the Prague Spring, however, interpreted L. Brezhnev's words in a peculiar way. They assumed that the Soviet Union would remain on the sidelines under any circumstances, no matter what course developments in the country would take.

On the pages of newspapers and magazines, on television screens, and in radio broadcasts, assurances that socialism in Czechoslovakia is irreversible would not die down. It supposedly only had to be enhanced and given a human face. However, for this to happen it would be necessary to revise everything that happened in the past. Unfortunately, no one found anything good about the past. Journalists and men of letters started to frenziedly turn history upside down. From their persuasively and emotionally written works emerged "only" the simply cruel and terrifying path of Czechoslovakia after World War II. At some point at the turn of 1967 and 1968, L. Mnacko's fictional chronicle "How Power Tastes" was published; even prior to that, it had been disseminated as a manuscript. It was about the Slovak national uprising. Yet in it the uprising itself figured only in passing. In it the main protagonists of the novel, future leading representatives of Slovakia, were described as vulgar, limited people whose main concern was to satisfy the whims of Soviet partisans. These, in turn, cared little for the uprising; they spent their time in the Slovak mountains drinking and looting. Young people eagerly read the novel. In May 1968 a small group of young men, influenced by Mnacko's work, appeared at a demonstration in Bratislava with the banner: "Look at who liberated us!" Marching under the banner was a youngster dressed in a Soviet military uniform, with rolled-up sleeves. A bottle was sticking out of his pocket and he had five watches on each wrist.

General A. Asmolov, chief of staff of the partisan movement in Slovakia, whom I met at that time at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Moscow, gave me a nudge in the ribs and said: "Have you read Mnacko's lampoon? How could something like that be published? But why, why was he so mean?"

As a matter of fact, this was just the beginning of the generally anti-Soviet policy of the new CPCZ leadership. Since the end of May 1968 "socialism with a human face" started to show ominous grimaces. An "unknown" force rejecting and renouncing the entire 20-year history of socialism in Czechoslovakia targeted its attack on the party. The manhunt started for "conservatives and dogmatists," for members of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association. A wave of vandalism swept through the country; the graves of Soviet soldiers who fell while liberating Czechoslovakia were desecrated. This aroused the vigilance of a part of society.

People's Militia aktivists gathered in Prague-Ruzyne on 19 June. They demanded that the party leadership put an end to undermining the foundations of socialism and take energetic measures against the raging of anti-Sovietism. Some leading party representatives objected to this activity by the People's Militia and A. Dubcek, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and rejected the aktiv's proposal that the People's Militia turn out for the defense of socialism with their weapons in their hands.

I dare predict that, if only an economic reform had been implemented in Czechoslovakia, without the destructive dismantling of the political system of socialism, "restructuring" would have come to its logical conclusion, even according to O. Sik's model. Yet one without the other is impossible. The dismantling of the political system outpaced the economic reform. Moreover, after 27 June, when the press published the relatively known 2,000 Words [manifesto], economic issues became quite secondary.

The 2,000 Words became a program for reaction's open onslaught on the socialist system and all ties with the USSR and other socialist countries. This was so obvious that at its session on 27 June the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium rejected this counterrevolutionary

document. However, this was a purely formal decision. It was impossible to halt the approaching ruinous catastrophe. Yet even in these days L.Brezhnev's words that "this is your internal affair" were not questioned.

Journalists with a command of the Czech and Slovak languages began to fulfill the responsible role with which they were charged by the CPSU Central Committee, making daily annotations [anotacie] of Czechoslovak newspapers and magazines for the needs of the Soviet leadership.

Reading the Czechoslovak press, I was astonished by the unbridled anti-Soviet propaganda oozing from its pages. It was as if degrading and offending everything Soviet became a fashion. The limits of elementary decency were being exceeded. Later, a Slovak journalist told me how this disparagement could be explained. The unwritten rule practiced in the press was: The worse the things you write about the Soviet Union, the more you are doing for the "process of revival" in Czechoslovakia. The representatives of the Prague Spring apparently understood that poisoning people's minds with anti-Sovietism would mean virtual victory for their designs.

From previous years, I was familiar with the attitude of ordinary folk toward my country, and I therefore did not believe that the idea of anti-Sovietism could percolate so deeply into their minds.

And what about Alexander Dubcek, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee? He was basking in glory. Portraits of Dubcek with his charming smile would not disappear from the pages of newspapers and magazines. One time they would show him floating like a swallow and plunging into water from 5 meters, another time in the midst of a gleeful crowd, striding toward the speaker's rostrum.

I pondered: Does he read newspapers? The hotter the summer, the more acute the political situation in the country was getting. The press, radio, and television were furiously swooping down on the party and its representatives, both previous and incumbent.

Trial balloons regarding the expediency of Czechoslovakia's remaining in CEMA and the country's opting out of the Warsaw Pact were being launched more and more often. There was a storm in the air. During those days letters from Czechoslovak working people were arriving in the editorial offices of Soviet newspapers and magazines, in which they wrote about the threat of counterrevolution, which was overtly emerging from the underground and pushing the party out of the leading position in the country.

On 30 July Soviet PRAVDA published the well-known letter of 99 employees of the Auto-Praga plant, addressed to the Soviet people. In it they voiced their concern at the fate of their country and furnished proof of their loyalty to friendship with the Soviet Union. With savage hatred the press launched an attack on the authors of the letter, labeling them without hesitation as the enemies of Czechoslovakia.

On 14 August the gauntlet was openly thrown down to the Soviet Union in Kosice. I believe that someone wanted to test the patience of the Soviet people and of the Soviet Union's leadership. It was as if the organizers of that barbaric act were asking: "What will you say to this, Leonid Brezhnev?" A woman, a Soviet citizen—it would be inhuman to name her—was stripped naked in the middle of the day, tarred, and driven through the most frequented street of the city, accompanied by the roaring of the mob. Hooligans who had lost all scruples threw anything they could lay their hands on at that unfortunate woman. "As if by coincidence," Western photographers and television crews were on the spot. (Austrian television showed these shots again this May).

And, finally, at a press conference in Prague on 20 August, one of the members of the constituent committee of the Social Democratic Party openly declared: "A favorable situation has come about in Czechoslovakia for depriving Communists of power. Social Democrats now have a chance to deliver the final blow to the communists." The final blow...hence, there must have been a first, a second....

The rhetorical question arises again: How would things in the country develop further, if the troops of five socialist states had not entered Czechoslovakia? Those who say that the tanks "suppressed" restructuring in Czechoslovakia are in a more advantageous position in this connection. In their view, Czechoslovakia would have made great progress economically, politically, as well as socially. Of course, they do not take into account the fact that many thousands of communists, of upright people, would have been hanged from lampposts. The threat of physical liquidation of people, the threat of civil and ethnic frictions, was averted. I am convinced of this. For this conviction to be proven, knowledgeable and, at the same time, honest and objective researchers must try to turn back the clock of history and delay in their thoughts the entry of the troops of five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia by only a month. Let them consider this variant for a while, taking account of the situation that had come about in the country and the fact that large contingents of American troops were at that time being transferred to Europe from overseas.

And I, bowing to the course of history, came with a group of journalists and, along with other countrymen, became a target of general attention and lack of sympathy.

"Your coming is unwarranted," an elderly Slovak told me as I was disembarking from an armored personnel carrier near a bridge across the Danube. It was painful to hear these words.

On 23 August I strolled through the streets of Bratislava. Sirens screamed over the city, drowning the noise of streetcars and automobiles. Ambulances noisily thrust forth from side streets. Street signs were smeared over, road signs were either uprooted or had been broken. One could really get the idea that the friendship between our nations would not be renewed.

For about an hour I stayed in the agitated city, which had become so alien, and set off for Slavin Hill. The mass grave of Soviet soldiers was deserted. The untouched glory and greatness of this monument was surprising. It was as if Slavin were aloof from the raging passions below it. There was something symbolic and unshakable about the figure of the soldier with a raised machine gun. It was as if in those days it reminded everyone of the sacrifices that the Soviet people made for the freedom of the Czechoslovak people, sacrifices which no one can ever forget.

"Do you know how many Soviet soldiers are buried here?" a male voice asked me. I turned around. Two people, a middle-aged man and a woman were standing there, gazing at me intensely.

"I know," I replied in Russian. They exchanged surprised looks and came nearer.

"My God," the woman exclaimed, "we have been observing you for some time. We thought that.... Do your understand? There have been several attempts to desecrate Slavin. So we are watching."

"Are you not afraid?"

"Not now. And you are a plainclothes officer?" the woman asked.

"I am journalist."

"Listen. People are saying that the Soviet Army will leave Czechoslovakia in 2 or 3 days. Is it true?"

"I do not think so."

"Thank God," the woman remarked. "I told you," she said to her companion, "do not believe all nonsense and every rumor. You know, my husband fought in the Slovak national uprising," she was addressing me again, "and worked in the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association.... I do not know what would happen to us if the Soviet Army had not come. Why are you silent, Jozef? Tell the comrade."

Her husband was silent.

"I am ashamed," he finally said. "I am ashamed of myself, of Czechoslovakia, of the party. I understand what difficult moments you are going through. But believe me, it cannot last for long."

He bowed his head deeply and turned to the graves. The woman bowed her head and hurried after him.

I went down to the city center. Near the building of the former main post office a group of young people was pressing hard against a Soviet soldier standing at the entrance. My young fellow countryman was pale. He was holding his machine gun tight and trying not to look into the faces of the slanderers. The entire scene was filmed by two correspondents from the FRG, I believe. When they ran out of film, one of them said something to a youngster who was standing near them and making the greatest effort to please them. The youngster clapped his hands and exclaimed:

"Let's go to the bridge! Let's set the tanks on fire!"

The whole gang broke away from the walls of the post office and headed towards Comenius University, taking up the entire width of the sidewalk. The correspondents were walking in front of them and clicking their cameras all the time. I pulled the sleeve of a soldier on duty: "Listen, and what if the tanks open fire?"

"Do not be afraid. They have an order not to let themselves be provoked," he told me when he looked around.

At around noon I returned to Petrzalka. My colleagues were already worried because of me, but they did not sit around idly. The decision was made to address the population through the transmitter of our soldiers. A debate arose about which name to give our radio station. We had all kinds of symbols in mind, such as the Danube Wave, Moscow Herald, and the like. Aleksandr Troyanovskiy, the oldest and most experienced of us, a Moscow Radio commentator and war veteran, finally said:

"Stop philosophizing. Our radio station will be called Druzhba [Friendship]. We will not appeal to those who call us occupiers but to those who believe in friendship between our peoples. They are the ones who need support. And they are not all that small in number. And you," he turned to me, "sit down behind the microphone and read this Slovak text."

"Friends, I cannot. I have forgotten how to speak Slovak."

"You can," Troyanovskiy said and gave me four pages of text. It was a good commentary. It was emotional, to a certain extent, but it discussed truthfully and from the position of internationalism what was going on in Czechoslovakia and why the armies of the socialist countries were there.

They placed me behind the microphone. The signal lights went on. I have kept that tape to this day. When I play it today, I recall how excited I was. My voice quavered, from time to time I paused, looking for the most fitting words. When I finished reading, trickles of

sweat were running down from my forehead. The next day some radio station scornfully commented on my debut as a speaker: "Some Yugoslav, speaking Slovak with a Russian accent, is appealing to us for friendship...."

I do not want to exaggerate the significance of our work. In those days the air was saturated with other stations' broadcasts. And our voice from the banks of the Danube hardly reached the ears of many inhabitants of the country.

At the end of August I had to return to Moscow. As I was leaving Czechoslovakia, the feeling lay heavy on me that I had lost something very precious and dear. I did not know that a month later I would return to Bratislava for a long time.

In late September I came to Bratislava again as permanent NOVOSTI correspondent. As soon as I took up my lodgings at the Carlton Hotel, I started making calls to the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines that had been NOVOSTI's collaborators of long standing. When the astonished secretaries heard who was calling, they asked again who was on the phone. Then, after a lengthy pause, came the reply: The chief editor is busy, he cannot stop leafing through the newspapers to see their clearly expressed anti-Soviet orientation.

Soon the idea was born to organize the publication of TYZDENNIK AKTUALIT [current affairs weekly, published by NOVOSTI], which was to be printed in any printing house, under any conditions. I called Grac, then CPSL Central Committee secretary for ideological work, and asked him to receive me. He agreed. We met at the designated day and hour. I tried to explain to him how important it was to get our newspaper published. He replied that, under the existing conditions, he regarded the publication of such a newspaper as counterproductive and, what is more, in his opinion it could be detrimental to Czechoslovak-Soviet relations (!). In the end he added that, if some printing house were willing to print the newspaper, the Central Committee would not put any obstacles in the way. As I expected, however, no such printing house was to be found in Bratislava.

At the end of October Anton Sagat, who was on the staff of the Slovak National Council, invited me to Bratislava Castle to attend the signing of the Constitutional Law on Czechoslovak Federation. At that time I saw A. Dubcek for the first time. We were almost facing one another, separated by a wide table. After the signing, champagne was being served. Dubcek was holding his cup in both hands and laboriously trying to put on the smile that has made him famous all over the world. It seemed at times that he would soon break into tears. I saw the tragedy of a man who was good but indecisive, and without a firm will. One could see that he sincerely did not understand why the things that happened did happen. And this feeling made him even more unhappy.

Nonetheless, the news of my being in Bratislava reached my friends. One day someone knocked on my door. I opened and saw Daniel Futej. We embraced one another. I honestly admitted to him that I felt awkward in Slovakia, to put it mildly.

"Sitting around in your hotel room, reading newspapers, and listening to the radio could mean a bad ending for you," he said. "Take a trip around Slovakia, talk to the people."

"And will they want to talk to me?"

"Go and you will see."

The same day I was called by A. Siska, chief editor of TECHNICKE NOVINY; I had not known him previously, but I knew of his good cooperation with NOVOSTI. We met. He showed me issues of his newspaper, which systematically published NOVOSTI items.

At that time truly friendly feelings arose in me for Michal Lanko, director of the PRAVDA publishing house, who knew how to appear at my side unnoticed when I felt particularly bad.

My circle of acquaintances grew wider every day. I established particularly warm, but also working, relations with the officials of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, who had to go through the most severe trials in those days.

Once officials of the West Slovak CPSL Regional Committee suggested to me that I give lectures on the Soviet Union in enterprises and organizations. The first such lecture was to be given in mid-October in one scientific-research institute. About 100 people showed up. They watched me curiously. It was the first time since my debut on the Druzhba radio station that I spoke Slovak. As a matter of fact, one could hardly speak of it as a lecture. They buried me under questions. I sensed that many of them either did not believe what the newspapers of those days were writing, or had their doubts about it. Events began to unfold before my eyes which convinced me that people analyze and gauge in their own way everything happening in their country and in their lives, thereby looking for the authentic truth, a truth that penetrated their minds with difficulty. [sentence as published]

On 7 November extremist elements in the streets of Bratislava and other cities were tearing down and burning Soviet flags. This was enthusiastically registered by the Western press, but also by some local newspapers. Of course, they suppressed the fact that meetings devoted to the anniversary of the October revolution were held in many enterprises and cooperative farms.

On 8 November I was invited to a cooperative farm near Bratislava for celebrations of the 51st anniversary of October. Still under the impression of the provocations of the day before, I went there with unpleasant anticipation.

I was welcomed with bread and salt. The Czechoslovak and Soviet flags were flying from the cooperative's administrative building. All inhabitants were dressed in their best clothes. I had the feeling that I was in a different world. Many good things about my country were said that evening.

When they invited me to speak, I was puzzled. Something brought a lump to my throat.

From that day, I traveled through Slovakia virtually every week. The life and the principles and evaluations of events in the country that were opening up before me were completely different from those I had seen from the room of the Carlton Hotel.

I must call to mind one specific feature of social life in Czechoslovakia in 1968, a specific feature that I deem important. Prior to 21 August, most people passively watched the development of political life in the country. The danger of the approaching counterrevolution did not strike anyone as tragic and the slogans of the representatives of the Prague Spring were attractive and lofty. The troops' entry generated tremendous political activity among all strata of the population.

People were asking one another: "Why? What for?" In the first months, they could receive a reply only from those who availed themselves of the mass information and propaganda media, and who strove to unleash a silent, nationalistic headiness. The period to which I am now referring (October to December 1968) was still complicated, but it was much calmer than August. Everyone was trying to understand what had, in fact, happened, where the "people's tribunes" were taking the country, and what had called forth such a responsible step by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In moments of doubt and reflection over all the things happening around me I used to go out in the field. Contact with ordinary people sowed in me the conviction that the day is not far away when friendship between our peoples will be rid of all the sediments artificially deposited on it. My meetings with workers, members of united agricultural cooperatives, and party officials of Martin, Topolcany, Senica, Komarno, and Dunajska Streda districts will remain forever fixed in my memory. A tenacious and long-term struggle for the purity of the ideals of socialism, for the hearts and minds of the people, was still in store for them, as well as for many others.

I am glad that I bore witness to their dignified victory.

## 19 Aug CPCZ CC Presidium Session Reported

*AU2208101388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Aug 88 p 1*

["Report on a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] At its session on Friday [19 August] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium addressed the role of national committees in the development of socialist democracy, and the tasks of national committees arising from the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism.

It critically assessed the results achieved in the implementation of the conclusions of the sixth CPCZ Central Committee session of 1982, aimed at raising the efficiency of the national committees' work, noting that there has been a certain improvement in their work. Services have been somewhat expanded, the state administration has come closer to citizens, and the appearance of a number of cities and villages has improved. But no fundamental turn has occurred in increasing the social role of national committees in the management of the comprehensive development of their districts, in the development of services and amenities. Some powers have been transferred to national committees, but they have not been able to make effective use of them because they lacked the necessary, above all economic, prerequisites. Therefore, the conclusions of the document discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium aim at eliminating obstacles which are in the way of developing the national committees' activity. The conclusions proceed from the fact that in this sector restructuring puts a number of fundamental questions on the day's agenda, questions which must be resolved in order to be able to fully develop the role of national committees in the political system of our society. The proposed measures stress the position of national committees as the most massive democratic state institutions responsible for the comprehensive economic and social development of their districts. In harmony with the realization of the principles of restructuring and democratization of social life they are adjusting the activity of the individual levels and types of national committees to benefit the primary level, where direct contacts with citizens take place, as well as cooperation with the organizations and bodies of the National Front in the creation and utilization of values. The measures pursue strengthening the position and increasing the role of the elected bodies of national committees and their aktivs in the interest of developing their self-administrative nature and expanding the scope for citizens' direct participation in the decisionmaking on the fundamental issues concerning the development of cities and villages. The important thing is to improve the work of the national committees' apparatus.

In accordance with the resolution of the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, the Presidium discussed and approved a proposal for the composition and work

schedule of a CPCZ Central Committee commission to elaborate a program for the CPCZ. The proposal will be submitted to the next CPCZ Central Committee session.

The Presidium acquainted itself with information concerning the plan of the CSSR Government's main tasks in the second half of 1988 and with information concerning the CSSR People's Control Committee's plan of control activity for the second half of this year.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium then assessed some other domestic political and foreign political issues.

## Leaders' Public Appearances 11-17 Aug

AU1908093988 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 12 to 18 August report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met with leading communist functionaries of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Czech and Slovak Unions of Cooperatives in Prague on 11 August. (RUDE PRAVO 12 Aug 88 p 2)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, presented to meritorious artist Jan Hrncarek the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 70th birthday, in Prague on 12 August. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Aug 88 p 2)

Peter Colotka, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, paid a visit to an exhibition in Karel Plicka Museum in Blatnica in the Martin district on 14 August. (Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Aug 88 p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee, departed for a 1-day visit to Hollabrunn, Austria, to discuss there the possibilities of further cooperation between CSSR and Austrian regions and districts, on 13 August. (MLADA FRONTA 15 Aug 88 p 2)

Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a working visit to the Pribram district on 16 August. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Aug 88 p 2)

Peter Colotka presented to Dalimir Orfanus, plenipotentiary of the Slovak Government for the construction of Bratislava rapid transit and the Slovak National Theater, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Bratislava, date not given. (PRAVDA 18 Aug 88 p 2)

## Miners Go on Strike in Pecs Over Income Taxes

*LD2408084488 Budapest MTI in English 0745 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Budapest, August 24, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Some 150 miners of the Mecsek coal mines (Pecs, s-w Hungary) refused to start work in the night shift yesterday and, as Radio Budapest has reported, many workers of the day shift joined them this morning.

The miners complain that the personal income tax takes away half of their various bonuses. Occasionally that reduces their annual income by up to 10,000 forints (USD 200).

It is especially irritating for the miners that miners on sick leave often earn more than their colleagues in regular shifts. This has been another unwelcome byproduct of the recently introduced personal income tax.

Mecsek coal mines is Hungary's only black-coal mine.

Last night Mr Laszlo Kapolyi, government commissioner in charge of the reconstruction of coal-mines and a former minister of industry, went down to the mine and talked to the miners in the company of the general-manager of the mine.

This morning Mr Kapolyi, several members the management of the mine, and representatives of the miners, left Pecs for Budapest to open talks with the government on the miners' demands. The general-manager of the mine has promised the miners to return to Pecs by nine p.m. today together with Mr Kapolyi to report about the outcome of their negotiations.

This is a pure industrial dispute with no political undertones.

This morning Radio Budapest broadcast recordings of the dispute between the miners and the management. One miner said: "We are seeking a solution to our problems. If that is impossible, we accept the closure of the mine. But the present situation must be changed."

In Budapest later in the morning negotiations were started with Mr Frigyes Berecz, minister for industry and other government officials to settle the dispute.

## Karpati Addresses New Military Officers

*LD2008131788 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 0740 GMT 20 Aug 88*

[Speech by Defense Minister Colonel General Ferenc Karpati at the officers' swearing-in ceremony in Kossuth Square, Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Dear guests, [word indistinct] friends, dear comrades: At the ceremonial oath-taking of the officers of the Hungarian People's Army and the Border Guard, I greet with respect the members of the MSZMP Central Committee and the government who are present in our midst: Comrade Gyorgy Fejti, Central Committee secretary; Comrade Peter Medgyessy, deputy premier of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Gyula Kallai, chairman of the Patriotic People's Front; the representatives here present of party, state and social organs; veterans of the Hungarian Workers movement; and the active and retired generals, officers, professional soldiers of the Armed Forces and its bodies. I give warm greetings to dear parents and relatives. I greet our foreign guests who are honoring our ceremony with their presence. I greet Comrade Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR defense minister, who is spending his vacation in our homeland. I greet the members of the diplomatic corps, the military and air attaches, the representives of the Joint Armed Forces and the Soviet Southern Army Group, temporarily stationed in our homeland. I greet all the dear guests who are present at our ceremony.

I greet with respect and warm fondness our young officers, who on this day have arrived at an important point in their lives. Having successfully completed their studies at the military academies and universities, they have joined the ranks of professional officers of our People's Army and Border Guard. I sincerely congratulate you, our dear young friends, and I wish you much success in your lives, in the course of the career you yourselves have chosen. May you wear your officers' uniform always true to your oath, with respect and honor, never forgetting that with every action and deed you must serve the interests of peace and security in our beloved homeland and our people-building socialism. [passage omitted]

Our generation alive today—the Hungarians of today—remembering with respect our first great king, derives strength from his historical deed, whose effect is felt to the present day, for the realization of the tasks of the present and the future.

The day of 20 August is also the ceremony of the fundamental law of our new society, our Constitution. In 1949 the National Assembly put into a legal form our nation's century-old longing for its freedom, its faith in a new, more just, better society, its political will, when it accepted the Hungarian People's Republic's Constitution.

It is symbolic that it is precisely on this day, on the day of King Stephen, the celebration of our Constitution, and when we cut the bread made in our country from the new wheat, that we swear in the young officers of our Armed Forces.

According to the Constitution, our People's Army, our Armed Forces, from the first moment of their birth, are the loyal and dedicated protectors of the power of the people, our social achievements, the homeland's borders, and the nation's peace. This is how the soldiers of the people salute, here on Lajos Kossuth Square, before the National Assembly building, the historical flags, the

flag of St Stephen, and the state flag, in memory of the Hungarian patriots who have defended over the centuries independent statehood and national independence.

This remembrance of the past also directs our attention to the present. A few decades ago, when our nation took the direction of its fate into its own hands, it set as its aim the construction of the most progressive, the most developed society. And now we can say that even by the yardstick of world development we have made a great journey till we arrived at the present day.

The socialist development of many decades radically transformed the aspect of our homeland, our people's way of life. The elevation of the situation of working people, compared to the conditions of the past, has justly merited the respect of progressive humanity. The lasting values of socialist development serve as a reliable basis for our people in our day, too, when that development is fighting not just to preserve all that it has achieved with the sweat of its labors, but also to keep from getting left behind in that race which knows no mercy, in the course of which the power relations of the world economy are rearranged, and the result of which over a longer term can determine the further possibilities of our economic development.

So we must face a new challenge, which makes it indispensable for us to analyze profoundly our work to date, and for us to change all that is outdated, or that has not been justified by life. The action program of our pressing tasks was formulated by the MSZMP conference last May, which gave new strength, impetus, and self-confidence to our nation-building work.

Now the time for action has arrived. In this we strive for the widest international solidarity, building on all those who are ready to participate in the renewal of our socialist building work, in making our nation flourish, with their creative work and active public deeds.

An important condition for the realization of our aims is the favorable development of international relations. It is with joy that we see that our great ally, the Soviet Union, and the people of many other friendly socialist countries are striving for renewal in a way similar to ours, and that our aims and endeavours coincide. This lends us great strength. It is our conviction that in the peaceful competition of social systems the successful realization of measures for renewal, economic, and social reforms strengthen the positions of socialism and also advance the reduction of tension and the progress of detente.

Our homeland is a participant and active initiator of this process. The foreign policy endeavors of our party and government have gained international recognition. We are open toward every country which is willing to cooperate with us as equal partners on the basis of reciprocity, in the spheres of economy, science, culture, and others. A tangible proof and expression of this are the visits made in recent times to many countries by the general secretary of our party, the chairman of our government, and by our other leaders, and similarly, the meetings with visiting statesmen and representatives of economic, scientific and cultural life who have visited us, which have had positive results.

In accordance with the development of international relations the main question today, too, which keenly preoccupies our people and all progressive mankind, is the possibility of averting another world catastrophe, the nuclear catastrophe. In recent times, in this respect, too, we can speak of favorable phenomena. The initial steps of the Soviet Union and the friendly socialist countries and their proposals of great importance which promote detente have shifted the handling of the most burning problems out of deadlock. After a long gap, a favorable dialogue has begun between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States. As a result of the flexibility, new attitude, and initiatives of Soviet foreign policy, the world is starting to move gradually away from the fatal danger of nuclear catastrophe.

The four Soviet-U.S. summits, the agreements signed on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and other international events all tangibly prove that the new political thinking is forging a path for itself in the interests of solving the world's burning problems.

Two years ago, here in Budapest at the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, was heard the call by the socialist countries for the reduction of military forces and conventional weapons in all of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals. The beginning of talks between the members of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on this subject has reached an attainable closeness. We are ready to participate in this actively and constructively. In the talks everyone must start from the realities, and an agreement will become possible if the countries of both blocs keep in mind the assertion of mutual security. If neither side strives to gain superiority at the expense of the other, then ultimately the guarantee of the security of states must be increasingly transferred from military strength relations to the sphere of political cooperation, respect for international commitments, and a comprehensive international security system must be created.

But this is not yet today's reality, for aggressions and the sources of war have not disappeared. Guarantees for the irreversibility of the positive processes begun, have not come about.

The Warsaw Pact countries are prepared, on a reciprocal basis, to significantly reduce all types of weapons and armed forces to avert the threat. The basis and source of this are our socialist ideals and goals. This is in our

interest also in the sense that we should release significant resources and means to benefit the economy, science, and culture to secure human prosperity. We are striving for this and are ready to exert more effort.

But unilateral steps cannot lead to our designated goals. We must always carefully and precisely take into account the military steps of the other side. The leadership of our party and our government is thus devoting appropriate attention to safeguarding the defense of our country and to maintaining the modern standard of our People's Army.

The military leadership knows that a categorically important task in our country's present situation is to manage our material means and resources as economically and rationally as possible. Our aim is to sacrifice only the most essential material means for the Armed Forces, which as firm members of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact reliably guarantee, in accordance with our strictly understood defense doctrine, our country's security. The responsibility, commitment, and readiness for action that are felt for the defense of the homeland are deeply rooted in our society.

There is also the joint will in the questions of national defense. Our country respects the achievements of our Army and fulfills its defense obligations. The overwhelming majority is dedicated to fulfilling its important constitutional obligations ascitizens and are carrying out successfully the difficult, tiring tasks of training and exercises.

We consider as our primary objective, the development in a socialist spirit of the internal conditions of our Army, its atmosphere, and the fostering of its ties to our people. An especially important task for us is to accept our role in the socialist education of the rising, young generation and to contribute to their becoming adults and to shaping their firm characater.

In fulfilling our tasks, and securing a high standard of military preparedness and training of our Army, shaping its discipline and morale, a determining role is played by the commitment, suitability, and standard of education of our professional staff. The main guarantee of this has always been their devotion and steadfastness.

Dear young comrade officers, at the outset of your service as officers, you will experience not only the magic of the start of your career but also its difficulties. Determination, will, perseverence, and the strength of military communities will help you through the first obstacles. Your future commanders and colleagues await you with affection, confidence, and a willingness to help. They count on your knowledge and your conscientious and devoted work. They are ready to help in the acquisition of the practical knowledge needed for the fulfillment of your duties, in your finding your way in the daily life of the unit, and in the creation of a balanced harmony between service obligations and private life.

You should continue to be receptive to everything new, ceaselessly amass knowledge, improve your general education, and perfect the abilities you need for fulfilling service duties. You should be demanding of those who work under you and set high standards for yourselves, but at the same time should be fair and humane commanders. You should set an example for the young people in your charge to follow. You should participate in public life and social work in a way befitting an officer of the socialist armed forces. I wish you success in finding joy and meeting expectations in the various though often unspectacularly fruitful efforts of daily life. In your family and private lives you should be contented and happy people, useful citizens of our socialist homeland.

On the occasion of the oath-taking ceremony I express my thanks to all those who have directed our young officers to the course of serving the homeland under arms and have helped in laying the foundation of professional military service. I thank the dear parents and relatives for their affectionate endeavors by which they have helped and eased the preparation of their children for the military profession.

And you, my dear young friends, must never forget the care and help of those who contributed to your upbringing, development, learning the soldiers' trade, and learning to love the profession. You should always think with warm affection of the care of your parents and relatives and respect the caring educational work of your former teachers and commanders. You should never lose touch with the parental home. You should preserve and strengthen family ties, and ask for and demand help from your former academy or university. Young comrade officers, I wish you from the bottom of my heart success, soldiers' luck, strength, and health!

## Berecz on Lessons of History; Tasks Ahead

*LD2008172688 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 0830 GMT 20 Aug 88*

[Speech by Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, at rally to commemorate St Stephen's Day at Opusztuszer, 20 August—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed festive audience, dear comrades, my compatriots. Today the country's people celebrate together. We are celebrating together with all those who, at home and also living beyond our borders, are preserving their Hungarian identity. Our first king, St Stephen, founder of the Hungarian state gives national content, a light which has illuminated our history until today, and suggests encouragement and example. [passage omitted] Esteemed audience, my friends. Today's history suggests a new epic command: We must direct our country to the current main track of world civilization. Let us do this in the spirit of Stephen's message. In other words, let us do everything necessary to provide a response to the challenge of the age, keeping in mind that history cannot be

translated literally into contemporary reality, but blind is a nation that is unable or unwilling to learn the lessons of its past, unable to translate into today's language the lessons of its history.

So our nation is again living through fateful times. No smaller task is [10-second break in transmission] to complete the work of the socialist state based on law, to achieve intellectual flowering, to secure moral achievements. These are all tasks of historic proportions and together they are goals requiring huge strength and effort.

This recognition was shaped into a practical program by our party conference in May when, by also setting out the main tasks, it said: Our advancement, the prosperity of the nation, demand that we carry out a turnaround in all areas of social life. This decision is the chosen response to the challenges of the age, to solving our problems.

Neither the expectations and hope of society, nor the economic-political situation allow time for putting off the tasks. We must act with circumspection, but we must do it decisively and in time. The resolutions formulated since then in the spirit of the national party conference unequivically demonstrate that we accept and take further what is positive and points forward, what has lasting value.

It is our detemined intention, and even our duty, to break with everything that is not modern, that is outdated or has been superceded. We cannot defend anything just because we regard it as Hungarian, if it does not meet the requirements of the age. We must be able to make Hungarian everything that is good and useful for us, but at the same time is not harmful to others. I could go on listing the epic tasks. We want to establish a modern socialist market economy that provides an incentive for creativity and productivity. We need full democracy and complete openness. Space must be provided for autonomous citizens's conduct, to self-governing activity. I could go on listing our efforts aimed at taming inflation, creating social security, and eradicating abuses and corruption.

From all these things it is clear and comprehensible for us: We live in the grip of reality. The age expects, asks for, and demands from us new answers and creative conduct. We must respond to it in a modern way, with an ideology, a program, and practical deeds.

The tasks facing us are more difficult than those that faced our predecessors. We must simultaneously undergo a theoretical renewal and forge a political path. There is no model today. The possibility of adopting the easily found solution does not exist, but in the search for a way we are not alone, nor are we falling behind.

We were initiators of the development of a socialist social outlook that was in harmony with the demands of our age, in the shaping of the new way of thinking and in line with that outlook in the shaping of social organization and social policy practice, as well as in the development of reformist thinking. We have recognized this new challenge in our history, so beside the everyday problems we are dealing more deeply with the questions of our socialist future as well.

Several tasks are facing us requiring not only a more thorough preparation but also profound scientific analysis, further experiences, their evaluation, and utilization. We are also ready for a continuous reappraisal of the situation and for effecting the necessary changes, even if they occasionally appear to be heresy.

We are not afraid, indeed we accept, that in some questions the practical experiences may not validate us, our previous concepts, and that further changes may prove necessary.

We would like to build on the momentous, guiding force of historic compulsion. We want to follow to the end the path we have embarked upon. A sudden halt, a loss of self-confidence, or action that contradicts our goals would elicit grave dangers. We have embarked upon a great venture, even by the yardstick of the founder of our state. We know that good intentions are not enough and that the changes can only yield results in the longer term.

We are aware that transformations affecting millions do not take place overnight or without pain, difficulty, and conflicts. It is significant that the transformation, the resurgence, can only be the work of the entire people. It can become a historic deed if it is carried out by the people and is in their interest, but for this to occur room must be given to creative energies. This is also an epic political task. This today places a historic burden on the party. Our party can only carry this out as a living movement existing within the people and working with society. The determining condition of our advancement is people's confidence and their union in the fundamental goals and interests.

Stephen's example shows that the necessary turnaround must be shouldered, together with its conflict. It cannot be any other way since the reform, the renewal, takes place through the confrontation of diverse intertsts, by giving birth to new contradictions as well.

Dear comrades. We recognize the situation. We can now list the tasks facing us even from memory. We are also aware of the difficulties in connection with the building of the future. Sometimes these even have a slighly alarming effect on us. All of us are, therefore, preoccupied with the question of essence: Do we have the strength—and I must add: do we have the self-confidence and resolution—to realize the tasks of historic significance?

Looking deep into the matter, the question is: Is the Hungarian nation viable today? Is it capable of responding with modern deeds in the Stephen's spirit to the

questions of the age? Let us summon our strength because the shape of our future depends on it. We also have today a firm, decisive, and modern leading force—the MSZMP. Just as all human forces and all social structures are, this, too, is an agonizing, thinking, debating and decisionmaking force capable of acting. Its greatest strength lies in the fact that the May national party conference issued a program appropriate for our problems. The other main source of our strength is our people. Nothing is mightier than a people's national will, the people's united creative action.

Today Hungarian workers, agricultural workers, and the workers of intellectual life are the rulers in this country. The ruler is the legislator, the producer, and the token of the nation's future. It becomes an inexhaustible reserve if the conditions regulated in democratic rights enable and even force this mighty creative force to prevail. This is precisely the reason, we have set about reexamining and reshaping the 1949 Constitution—which until now has been the most democratic Constitution in our history—and guaranteeing the rights of freedom in law. The further guarantee of our nation's capacity for life and its development are all the lessons of its history. This is an incredibly rich resource. History cannot be repeated in the same way, but the future is formed and shaped not just by the present, but also by the past. We must make the most of this knowledge, this rich knowledge.

It is particularly timely today that the lessons of Stephen's life work also form and shape the future of the Hungarian nation. Among these lessons, the most important is to first create the bases for modern production. Every constitution, every democratic administration of justice, socialist renewal, makes sense if it increases people's creative power and develops production, for our well-being and economic and social security depend on that. Any kind of ideological value is rated by a society's creative capacity. Today we can be condemned, but I trust that our commitment to advance is unbroken and that we will solve our tasks.

It is also helpful that the majority of our socialist friends are on the path of renewal, restructuring, and the new way of thinking. Together we are looking for common socialist solutions, the new forms of the necessary solidarity, cooperation. It is even more painful for us that nations condemned to historical cohabitation and each other's support—such as the Romanian, the Szekler, the Hungarian, the Saxon, and others—are incapable of this in a friendly country, because the ruling power is not able to live these historical lessons.

Esteemed festive gathering, fellow countrymen. The earth on which we are standing here is not just the symbolic area of the founding of our state, it is not just a historical memorial place. The produce of the earth, here and as far as the eye can see, is the work of the people living in this region; it is the source of their well-being. Today we remember St Stephen, our Constitution, and the new bread at the same time. The new bread also symbolizes our solidarity. In bread, science, the efforts and work of the peasant and the worker, take form. It is also the symbol of the unity of our people, for we avow sincerely that we do not eat the bread according to whether it was baked by a religious or non-religious person. The important thing is that it is good bread which allows us to look ahead with faith and trust in the future of the Hungarian identity.

Can a more noble aim be set for this solidarity, symbolized by the bread, than that our homeland should once again rise in the ranks of the developed countries of the world? It is my conviction that we Hungarians of today, the people present here and my fellow countrymen in this homeland, are ready and capable of acting in the spirit of the message of St Stephen which is valid to this day. With faith placed in our own strength, in our nation's unbroken wish to live, in the party, government, and society, and with common and increasing confidence and increased self-confidence, we should live, work, and serve our socialist homeland, the common good. For this, I wish all present, and every citizen of our country, strength, health, successful work and prosperity.

### Protesters at Romanian Embassy Issue Petition

*LD2308181788 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] The so-called "Free Romania" organization established in Budapest has held a 1-day protest to mark Romania's national day. The demonstration, which was held next to the Romanian Embassy, was attended by several hundred people, in groups changing every few hours.

The aim of the protest was to improve deteriorating Hungarian-Romanian relations and to halt the so-called regional settlement plan. In their appeal the demonstrators urged a high-level dialogue between Hungary and Romania, and wished to direct the international public's attention to the current situation in Romania. They called on the country's leadership to respect its obligations under the Helsinki agreement. In their 10-point demands, they asked that everyone in Romania be able to choose his place of residence without prior prescription.

We sincerely believe, the petition addressed to the [Romanian] embassy states, that the preservation of national cultures is in accordance with the interests of the Romanian nation as well. The Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Bajczy-Zsilinszky Society, FIDESZ and the Source Circle [Forraskoer] [not further identified] have joined the initiative.

### Slovak Hungarians Protest Romania's Policy

*LD2308171388 Budapest MTI in English 1455 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Prague, August 23 (MTI)—In a statement dated August 14, 304 young Hungarians living in Slovakia protested against the planned village regulation in Romania. The document, which has recently been forwarded to the MTI correspondent in Prague, states:

We the participants in the 7th Homeland Knowledge Camp, organized in Orsujfalu August 7-14, take this opportunity to express our indignation over the destruction of Romanian villages. Driven by our personal conscience, in the defence of the European cultural heritage, in the name of universal human rights and in the spirit of internationalism rejecting all kinds of racial, ethnic and language discrimination, we are protesting the village regulation started in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The endeavours experienced there do not serve the augmentation of agricultural areas, which was defined as an aim by the state authorities, but they are designed to break the national identity of local Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Slovaks and Serbs, to eliminate their cultural and ethnographic traditions and to destroy the architectural relics of their history and culture. In the contemporary history of European civilization and culture the village, which is an integral part of the settlement structure, has acted as a cohesive force in the life of the peoples, nations, nationalities and smaller communities of the given countries. As we are all from Hungarian-inhabited regions of Slovakia and have learnt about this measure violating human rights from the Slovakian press, we express even this way our concern and protest on account of the village razing launched in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

### Romanian Envoy Gives National Day Reception

*LD2308134188 Budapest MTI in English*
*1254 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Budapest, August 23 (MTI)—On Tuesday Ioan Chira, charge d'affaires ad interim at the Budapest embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, gave a reception at his residence on the occasion of the national day of Romania.

The event was attended by Janos Lukacs, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, secretary of the Central Committee, Istvan Sarlos, vice-president of the Presidential Council, Jeno Andics, head of the HSWP Political College, Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry, Laszlo Medve, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Social Welfare and Health, Antal Stark, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Education and Culture, Istvan Torok, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Trade, Imre Szokai, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee, Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and several other representatives of economic and public life.

The diplomatic corps were also represented.

### Leaders Pay Condolences at Pakistan Embassy

*LD2208163088 Budapest MTI in English*
*1352 GMT 22 Aug 88*

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—On behalf of the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, Academician Janos Szentagothai, member of the Presidential Council, Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry, and Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs, paid a visit to the Budapest Embassy of Pakistan and expressed their condolence to Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Hamidullah Khan on account of the tragic death of Ziaul Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

### Officials Greet Afghan Leaders on National Day

*AU2208095288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Aug 88 p 7*

[Text] On the occasion of the 69th anniversary of Afghan independence, MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz, and Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, greeted in a telegram Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee and president of the Republic of Afghanistan, and Dr Muhammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

## PZPR CC Politburo Reacts to Worker Unrest

### Discusses Internal Situation

*LD2308174988 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo is discussing the country's sociopolitical and economic situation today.

### Appeals to Workers on Strikes

*LD2408084088 Warsaw PAP in English 0100 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The PUWP CC Political Bureau today reviewed the socio-political and economic situation of Poland.

Threats to the normal functioning of the economy and state continue. Economic losses are mounting. In many fields they are already too big to be made up for. The prestige and economic credibility of Poland have suffered greatly in international relations.

Difficult living conditions, justified criticism and postulates addressed to the authorities do not warrant violations of the law, disturbances in production, transportation and foreign trade. The Political Bureau expects that the assessments, preventive measures and warnings presented by the chairman of the government committee for law abidingness, order and social discipline Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak will be received with understanding by citizens worried by the dangerous development of the situation.

The Political Bureau critically assessed the results of the economic activities being implemented. It stressed that the current situation calls for a consistent deepening of reforms and a bold modification of solutions and the removal of those which have turned out to be faulty and ineffective.

The Political Bureau deemed the overcoming of the threat to the living standard of the population, an improvement of market supply and checking the inflation spiral as the most urgent tasks.

It is necessary to urgently prepare a package of provisional measures and a program of the consolidation of the national economy.

Further changes in the economy must be based on a strong foundation of the most broadly understood national agreement, on unfailing cooperation with the allied parties. The Polish authorities have for a long time now been forwarding an offer to set up a patriotic coalition of pro-reformative forces.

We will boldly proceed in this direction. The line of agreement and reform is unquestionable. We discern the important role of the Roman Catholic Church on this road, which the communique from the meeting between the president of the Council of State and the primate of Poland confirmed.

The Political Bureau appeals to all working people for understanding for the difficult situation of the country and the economy in the transitional period of reforms, to intensify care for their work establishments and the national property entrusted to them.

It addresses the trade unions to energetically and effectively tackle matters of the work and living standard of their crews.

Reformative transformations are a movement open to all, to each generation of working people.

The Political Bureau adopted the text of a letter addressed to all the members of the party. In it the Political Bureau obliged all party authorities and organizations, all party members to:

—Counter attempts to stir illegal strikes,

—Give an example of a sense of responsibility for the state of their enterprises and the national economy as a whole, guiding oneself by principles of law-abidingness,

—Defend the reforms, fight against bureaucracy, represent the real interest of the working class and all working people,

—Point to and actively take part in the solution of problems which are the cause of social tensions,

—Cooperate in undertaking efforts to restore a normal situation in plants and public peace.

The Political Bureau decided to convene—in the nearest future—the 8th plenary session of the Central Committee.

## Politburo Praises 'Energetic Party Presence'

*AU2408113188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Aug 88 pp 1, 2*

[Commentary by Czeslaw Rowinski: "After the Politburo Session—Wherever An Energetic Presence Is Required"]

[Text] The agenda of the 16 August Politburo session called for a continuation of the assessment of how party cells in several voivodships have been implementing the resolution of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum, this time in the voivodships of Lublin, Poznan, and Radom; plus a report on how workers, children, and young people spent the summer vacation; and a report on this year's harvest.

But, as usually happens at Politburo sessions, the Politburo also discussed affairs brought about in recent days, and assessed problems which could not wait until the next session.

Tuesday 16 August was the beginning of an illegal strike at the "July Manifesto" coal mine. We know more about the nature and motives of this strike today. On Tuesday, the demands and the political, illegal nature of the strike were known. Apart from economic and social demands that were mainly put forth and resolved by the miners' federation, there was a political demand that "Solidarity" be legalized. Further on, I will quote the Politburo stance on these matters, but right now let me make a few remarks of my own. A legalization of "Solidarity" is nothing but a demand for the repetition of a lesson that is already part of history, as a result of which the state and people stood on the brink of national tragedy in 1980 and 1981. People who were young in those years have a dim memory of it. However, the myth continues. In fact, it is needed by those who are trying to upset present emotions and make another attempt. The socialist transformations, in which we often play a major part, are dangerous for them because they demolish the stereotypes in their minds. These transformations are creating a qualitatively new situation, a new climate of socialism in the world. These transformations are dangerous to our ideological opponents because they deprive them of their arguments.

The difficult economic and market situation has turned out to be conducive to illegal strikes. Once again, the floor has been taken by the same advisors, whose names have partly been forgotten. However, their advice is somewhat laconic and has been known for years—negation, destruction, the further complication of an already complicated price-wage situation, and financial claims that the economy cannot afford.

In the communique from the session, the Politburo states:

"It happens that selfish group interests are given priority to the detriment of national interests. The voice of the work forces should be a starting point for settling disputes and difficult problems in a reasonable way, one that satisfies state and economic requirements and the potential of plants. Wage increases that are not backed by increases in production and productivity must not be carried out. The strike blackmail, which is accompanied by appeals to create the situation that existed years ago and amounted to the complete disorganization of the country's life will only intensify economic difficulties and hinder reforms and national accord. In addition, the regrettable incidents that disturb production prolong efforts to restore normal economic relations with foreign countries. The defense of the people's basic interests is the most important duty of the party and the authorities of the socialist state. There must be no return to anarchy and to past structures." Today, it is not just some of the miners in "July Manifesto" that are staging an illegal strike. We are reporting on the strikes every day. The delicate fabric of democratic social relations in Poland, the hard-won institutions of socialist democracy, and the incomplete use of the possibilities they create—all these favorable and favorably-assessed processes are in serious danger. The still empty democratic structures, not yet filled with social initiatives, can only develop in a climate of national accord, an accord embracing supreme matters, namely, the interests of the state. Today they are undergoing a difficult trial.

But I wish to return to the subject of the Politburo talks. I wrote at length 2 weeks ago about the assessment made of the implementation of the seventh plenum resolution in various voivodships. All I want to do is add to the views already in the communique the statement that the problems that voivodship party cells have to solve are basically similar. What is different in each voivodship is the speed with which they are being solved and the sensitivity to human problems. How is it that in two almost identical manufacturing plants, the differences in the level of production and wages are so great? Perhaps there really is no answer. It all depends on people, their commitment, and their understanding of the reform, which not everyone finds inconvenient. It helps those who want and are able to work. The results also show this. The same can be said about efficiency in rural districts. Good managers are convincing others of the possibilities that merely have to be reached out for and used properly.

The Politburo also listened to "newsflashes," as it were, that the vacations and the harvest are still under way and it is too early for a full assessment.

The number of people on organized vacation this year is more or less the same as last year. But the trade unions are worried about the rising costs of such vacations. The OPZZ chairman sent a memorandum saying that fewer workers are taking advantage of holidays this year. The Politburo talks pointed out the relationship between earnings and vacations. Central Committee member Stanislaw Kalkus, who was invited to the session (he was Politburo member during the previous tenure in any case), reported on how his factory, the Cegielski plant in Poznan, is solving the problem of vacations. We will write about this in TRYBUNA LUDU in a few days, because the matter is worth emulating.

One can see that good conditions have been created for workers' vacations. Efficient enterprises that can afford to do so are using their funds in order to guarantee a high standard of vacations. By the way, proper vacations act as a stimulus for productivity. Plants should do everything they can to reduce the financial burden of vacations resting on their employees. This is an important political principle that cannot be neglected.

Summer camps for young people were organized in an interesting way. Contacts with young people from the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union are proceeding favorably.

So this year's vacations generally received a positive assessment. The Politburo only pointed out one matter, which was noticed by members of the party leadership during their visits to camps, a matter that would seem to be the simplest matter of all—cleanliness and hygiene. The Politburo said it was essential to overcome the shortcomings in this sphere as quickly as possible, and indicated last year's "dirty children"—the voivodships of Suwalki, Wroclaw, and Zamosc. Further inspections by the State Sanitary Inspectorate are under way, the results of which the Politburo will receive later.

Something quite unexpected occurred during the session. While discussing the above topics, Wojciech Jaruzelski asked the following: "During the Olympics in Seoul, are we going to experience disappointment and become upset, or can one expect satisfaction?" The question was addressed to Minister Aleksander Krawczuk [minister of culture and art], who had been invited to the meeting in order to discuss this very item on the agenda. His reply was equally unexpected: "We have no favorites in the team. The preparations are proceeding smoothly, all essential conditions have been fulfilled. I expect over a dozen medals." Even though the answer was received with disbelief, the Politburo wished for success and a dignified attitude in this most important of sporting competitions.

A report on the harvest was heard. It was based not only on written information, but also on trips to the field, personal observations, and talks with farmers. It seems that the harvest will not be bad. But that is all the more reason why rational management of crops, a reduction and even elimination of losses, and a development of animal breeding and food production are required.

The estimates are not bad, and we will assess the harvest when the campaign is over, said Wojciech Jaruzelski. But we can already express our appreciation for the work of the farmers.

All the topics that were discussed have one thing in common—an energetic party presence. Party activity must be militant and energetic. Only the people can go on vacation, not the party.

## Report on Urban's 23 Aug News Conference

*LD2308163988 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1400 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[By S. Filipczak and J. Zaleski]

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—Among the most important issues discussed at today's press conference on Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban were the evaluation of the situation in Poland, whether Gen. Jaruzelski would talk with Szczecin dockers, how many people had been detained in connection with strikes, when a session of the Sejm extraordinary committee would be held, whether the government was responsible for strikes and dissatisfaction over bad economic situation, what prospects were for solving the social conflict and whether Jerzy Urban would go to Munich.

Evaluation of Situation in Poland [subhead]

Over recent weeks and even days our political dialogue with Poles representing various viewpoints, with independent groups was gaining momentum. This refers not only to talks behind closed doors. One could clearly see this on the public arena as well—on the columns of some periodicals. This dialogue was marked by ever more significant contents. We were announcing important reforms in the state system, in key legal acts. Discussed were forms of broad participation in public life of people holding views different than ours as well as ways in which they might influence developments in the state, the economy, the life of the country.

Poland continued to live under impression of the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev whose stay in this country was the illustration of the new thinking and put emphasis on favourable changes of the climate in Polish-Soviet relations.

Relations with the West were also gradually improving, which was maintained by an official visit by Minister Olechowski in the U.S. A very advantageous meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Primate Jozef Glemp was held as well.

Expected was the 8th plenary session of the PUWP CC which will assess realization of the 7th Central Committee's plenum, so much critical and opening many doors to further transformations.

Such was the course of political developments. Somebody was running out of time. All this disturbed somebody. Gentlemen who for long now lived sustained chiefly by the past decided to turn the course of events unfavourable for them and catch up with their own past. Thus they started the current backward race.

The political groups and people in question took advantage of the strong increase of social dissatisfaction over material conditions of life to start that course. Commodity supply difficulties, rising inflation. [sentence as received] They took advantage of all those negative economic phenomena, failures, difficulties and hardships which were in detail presented during the 7th PUWP plenum.

Taking advantage of low spirits they quickly inspired strikes before state authorities could lesson economic difficulties and market tensions, before they announce new political reforms and before intensified political dialogue can create a new quality in Poland's internal relations and in forms of executing power.

We have foreseen that such will be the case, that strikes and unrests will be incited, but a little later. The inspirers of strikes well sensed that they are running out of time and that the development of the situation will not give them a chance, for example next fall.

I assess that a serious situation with an economic background emerged in Poland which is taken advantage of by professional leaders of political actions. I do not give those attempts any chance for success. A small minority of workers in some cities lets themselves be manipulated.

My forecast for the development of the situation is as follows: Nobody ever did succeed in writing down history while running backwards, into the past. Whereas we will boldly go on into the future.

Strike in Nowa Huta [subhead]

According to reports from Aug. 22 attempts at staging a strike in Nowa Huta failed. 370 persons gathered for 15 minutes to hear several speeches after which they resumed work. In the small hours today 130 workers of the third shift stopped work at the car body sheet mill there, Urban answered one of the questions.

Strikes in Silesia [subhead]

Till 18 hrs p.m. yesterday work was stopped by 4,850 persons in 12 mines in Silesia. Unsuccessful attempts at organizing strikes took place in two more collieries. The situation is uncertain at the mine "Marcel" in which 200 persons are on strike but most employees work as usual, the spokesman said.

Other Strikes [subhead]

As concerns other regions of the country—Urban added—180 workers stopped work at the tool-room and 30 persons—at the forming department of the Stalowa Wola steel mill. A small group of individuals are on strike in the first section of the commercial port in Gdansk. The situation in the Szczecin transport enterprise is getting normal—a part of local buses and trams as well as vehicles from other localities and the military ones are servicing city streets.

Will Law Enforcement Forces Enter Factories. [subhead]

Asked whether law enforcement forces will be sent into premises of striking factories to ensure order and security, the spokesman said that he confirms all that was said by General Czeslaw Kiszczak during his August 22 television address. Urban also said that actions undertaken by authories will be adequate to the development of the situation.

Will General Jaruzelski Hold Talks With Dockers. [subhead]

Is the offer of a meeting and talks of General Jaruzelski with Szczecin dockers still valid. In response to such worded question Urban said that such talks, in his conviction, may be valid after the end of the strike and elimination, to the best of possibilities, of losses. The offer cannot be valid until the strike is continued. "Head of state is not a fireman for putting out strikes," stated Urban.

Detentions Connected With Strikes [subhead]

Urban said that till August 22, nobody was arrested in connection with strike activities. However 49 persons were apprehended throughout the country. The detentions were of preventive, warning and explanatory character.

Session of Sejm Extraordinary Committee [subhead]

The Sejm Extraordinary Committee will meet on Aug. 31 to examine the way the government has used special powers, granted by the Sejm. The government will be represented by Vice-Premier Sadowski, Urban told newsmen.

Is Government Responsible for Strikes [subhead]

Undoubtedly, the government is responsible to a significant extent for the economic situation of the country. But it is definitely not responsible for the strikes, Urban stated.

Prospects for Solving Social Conflict [subhead]

Asked about prospects for solving the current social conflict, Urban said that in many enterprises talks were under way on issues possible to be settled on spot. The talks are held by enterprises' representatives who, in line with the principles of the reform, have powers to make decision of this kind.

Will Urban go to Munich. [subhead]

Urban said that he had received a letter from Radio Free Europe president Mr Pell, including a reply to the proposal that the Polish Government spokesman should leave for Munich to attend a discussion with the Polish service of that radio station. Unfortunately, Urban stated, Mr Pell informs in his letter that such a visit and meeting cannot take place. However, he forwards different proposals which seem to be unfeasible at first sight. Thus, in my opinion, my proposal has been rejected though it is still not a final statement and it may change after a more profound analysing of the RFE president's letter, the spokesman said.

Questions About Talks With Walesa Untimely [subhead]

A Dutch reporter asked about the possibilities of the government holding talks with Lech Walesa. Urban replied:

In starting talks we do not ask from where one comes but with what he comes, is it good will, a will to agree, a compromise stance. We are ready to talk to anyone on such a plane.

When a strike is under way at the shipyard with the participation of Lech Walesa, questions about talks with Walesa are untimely. One would have to perhaps jump the shipyard fences to hold such talks. There are no political talks at strike gunpoint, the spokesman said.

## SD, ZSL Examine Strike Situation

### SD Assesses Unrest

*LD2408083488 Warsaw PAP in English 0045 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The Presidium of the Democratic Party CC assessed the socio-political and economic situation in Poland and came out against attempts to seek strength-testing political solutions on the road of stirring up and spreading illegal strikes. The Presidium spoke out in favour of undertaking constructive efforts aimed to alter the difficult situation and to lead the speedy ending of the strikes on the road of talks.

The Presidium analysed the causes of the current state, stressing that its sources must be sought mainly in the too slow a pace of political and economic changes and in the lack of consistency and concordance between declarations and practice. Therefore, DP CC Presidium stressed the need for speeding up the work on the reform of the state to make it democratic and strong.

One of the significant guarantees to counteract the recurrence of acute crises consists in the change of the principles of coalition cooperation which would enable the allied parties to have greater influence on the methods of solving issues which are important for the country.

The Presidium spoke in favour of a detailed assessment of the government's work to be made by the Sejm at its nearest meeting. Participants in the meeting stressed an urgent need to finally break off with the practice of direct steering of the state administration by the political factors while ignoring representative bodies.

### Further on Meeting

*LD2308212588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] The SD Central Committee Presidium has held a meeting chaired by Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak. The Presidium assessed the political, social and economic situation. It recognized that it is becoming increasingly tense as a result of the spreading wave of strikes, which exacerbate the economic difficulties and reduce our country's credibility in international relations. The Presidium advocated urgent constructive political efforts aimed at changing this situation and leading, by political means and by way of talks, to a rapid cessation of the strikes. The SD Presidium again drew attention to the lack of effective machinery for counteracting the collapse of the goods and services market.

The sociopolitical situation was also assessed by the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium.

### ZSL Criticizes Strikes

*LD2408082988 Warsaw PAP in English 0048 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The Presidium of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) CC today sized up the development of Poland's social, political and economic situation and disapproved of the wave of strikes, especially that they are primarily political strikes.

The countryside is firmly critical of concessions by the government and managements of enterprises in the face of wage demands by illegally striking working crews, which encourages others to exert wage pressures without being responsible for their results.

The Presidium of the ZSL CC sizes up the present situation in Poland as harmful for society's current interests and dangerous for future Poland. The ZSL will take part in all efforts aimed to bring political solution to the existing conflict and removing its deeper causes in the name of social order and Poland's reason of state and in strengthening the process of reforms and national agreement.

Thus, there is a need to take more consistent and firm steps to solve the present conflict and to respect the legal order and discipline by everybody.

The Presidium of the ZSL CC thinks that the conditions for the current situation are being created by ineffective and inconsistent implementation of reforms and particularly by:

—Not accomplishing the real division of political power from the state one, leading consequently to not observing constitutional competences and the principle of responsibility for made decisions,

—The absence of real progress in pursuing principles of the coalition system of wielding power, proclaimed by the PUWP, the United Peasant and the Democratic Parties, ensuring the conditions of the joint decision making and joint responsibility of partners,

—Seeming steps to restructure and modernize the economy,

—Small effectiveness and the lack of consistency in pursuing agricultural policy,

—Inconsistent policy in releasing economic initiative and enterprising spirit.

The Presidium of the ZSL CC decided to convene the third plenum of the ZSL CC on August 31 to size up Poland's socio-economic situation and the ZSL current tasks.

## OPZZ Vice Chairman Examines Worker Unrest

*LD2308215388 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Poznan, Aug. 23—"Sense Lies Cooperation" is the headline of an interview with Vice-Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Romuald Sosnowski, carried by the GAZETA POZNANSKA paper today. Excerpts:

"Poland again experiences waves of unrest. The OPZZ does not dissociate itself from these general social feelings. We manifested this in last Saturday's statement of the OPZZ Executive Committee. In our opinion, it sums up unrest in various social and vocational milieus. This unrest is grounded on dissatisfaction at the pace and quality of changes which take place or which rather should take place in our socio-economic life," he said.

"Absent is what society impatiently awaits—stability and non-deterioration of living standards. Prospects are also misty—the more so as we observe many apparent activities which are inconsistent and which transfer the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of working people, and mainly the ones working in the socialised sector."

"The unions movement was to counteract this, describing its own nature as an institution of early warning."

"We play these roles consistently. However, nothing comes out of it as it too frequently happens that we are not listened to. For dialogue to be concrete necessary is not only he who speaks but also the other side who wants to listen and draw proper conclusions. This is more important," Sosnowski stated.

In reply to the question on prospects created by strikes the OPZZ vice chairman stated that they were not cheerful. "We have already done these lessons and we know exactly how they influence Poland's internal affairs and her position in the world. The prospect of empty shelves, international isolation is not encouraging but terrifying. It is the more dangerous as we have been coming back on the international arena with such toil, reconstructing our credibility. It is not sentiments that count here. When we again undermine our credibility, it will be very difficult to restore confidence."

## OPZZ's Lubanski Recalls Apr-May Strikes

*PM2208115088 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 10 Aug 88 p 3*

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Lubanski, deputy chairman of National Trade Union Alliance (OPZZ), by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date and place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] The trade unions have carried out an analysis of the causes of the strikes which took place in late April and early May. The OPZZ discussed this subject at its Executive Committee's final session, attended by union chairmen from the enterprises where the conflicts took place. What conclusions do you draw from those analyses and discussions?

[Lubanski] We do not call the events of late April and early May strikes—or if we do, they are termed wildcat strikes. While we lend our support to all legal actions intended to protect the interests of work forces, we oppose wildcat strikes.

[Scholl] Would you say that the early warning system—which is part of the role that the trade unions are supposed to play—is not working well?

[Lubanski] It clearly is not, although this is not our fault. At the risk of being accused of pursuing a policy of unjustified demands, we have repeatedly warned the authorities that the reform must not manifest itself to the public exclusively through price hikes which accelerate inflation and cause a deterioration of living standards.

[Scholl] According to the government, it is prices which have to chase wages, and thus the latter are the reason for the inflation.

[Lubanski] That is not true. The government compares the population's incomes in the first quarter of this year with those in the first quarter of 1987 and concludes that incomes have increased by almost 60 percent. But people compare the money they had in their pockets at the beginning of this year with what they had in March and then in the following months. Also the price increases during that period.

Our Research and Analysis Institute together with other scientists has calculated that, if we disregard the profit distribution bonus for last year, in March wages rose by 25 percent compared to December. Against this, food prices rose by 32.4 percent, nonfood products by nearly 20 percent, and, for instance, services in the nonsocialized sector by nearly 40 percent. I am not counting the profit bonus because the workers feel—and this is consistent with the facts—it is a one-off payment whose effects can hardly be spread over several months. Consequently, as we can see, real wages fell by several percent although according to the Central Annual Plan it was supposed to rise by 1 percent.

[Scholl] But in addition to their broader economic context, wildcat strikes usually have a concrete cause generated in the enterprise itself or in the environment around it. Why do unions fail to detect the unrest at an earlier stage and take steps to prevent such illegal action?

[Lubanski] Do they really not detect it? Occasionally they do not. But do you recall how things started in April? It all started at the Bydgoszcz transport company. Negotiations were conducted there for a long while

before work stoppages occurred. The federation of municipal transport unions took part in the negotiations but the other side took its time in reaching any final decisions.

Why prolong those group conflicts ad infinitum, thereby provoking the protagonists to give expression to their protest in violent form? And when effects can be seen only after an illegal strike, the interpretation is quite obvious. No subsequent explanation claiming that the dispute had been settled earlier can help matters by then.

Both trade unions and work forces have repeatedly shown great patience and skill in resolving their conflicts through legally approved measures. There have been dozens of cases already to prove this. At worst, it would come to a declaration of strike readiness in those instances. But this was when both sides showed enough goodwill and understanding of the situation.

[Scholl] I do not suppose the union principle of legal activity is helped by the fact that the organizers of wildcat strikes are virtually unaccountable for them.

[Lubanski] We believe that compliance with the law should be the duty of every citizen. There should be no lenient treatment of lawlessness, troublemaking, or any breach of law and order. What right does a public prosecutor, a voivoda, or any other person in the country have to exempt anybody from being bound by the terms of parliamentary acts? In the same way we condemn the other extreme: using force to eliminate conflicts, as happened at the Lenin Steelworks.

We take a critical view of the fact that the special powers accorded to the government include a restriction of the freedom to organize legal strikes, while no mention at all is made of introducing a right to apply special sanctions for wildcat strikes. After all, it is the latter which are a dangerous practice.

[Scholl] Usually the trade union, the management, and the workers self-management body together form a united front against ill-considered institutional solutions of the reform. Acting in unison, they press for a change of those economic mechanisms whose results are the reverse of what was intended. An example of this is the anti-motivational system of wage taxation, to which enterprises respond with such "united front" opposition. Do you not perceive a certain danger in such exaggerated coalition?

[Lubanski] We do, and we say this loudly: Analysis of the events of late April and early May has shown that a weak position of a trade union within an enterprise, demonstrated through ineffective actions, intensifies the instability of that enterprise's social welfare provisions. The unions, confronted with management, are not steadfast and vigorous enough in their demands for a system of work organization and remuneration which would provide an authentic incentive to good work; they do not suggest their own solutions—such as, for instance, a system in which workers could earn the same amount of money within the 8-hour day. The number of "overtime" hours worked thus grows rapidly, providing the state administration with the "excessive wages" argument, which it uses indiscriminately, ignoring the sacrifices that such a system involves. In certain sectors, such as municipal transport, for instance, a 7-day work week with practically no rest is virtually forced on the employees, while the only way to earn decent pay is to work overtime. Is that not a factor which generates conflict? Of course it is!

The unions are not fighting hard enough for a definite improvement in working conditions. Our analyses show that explosions are most likely to occur wherever the acceptable limits of dust, temperature, and noise levels are exceeded, which happens most often in some metallurgical plants and shipyards. The time is long gone when people with no elementary education would be happy to get work in any kind of job. So it is not surprising that the lists of demands submitted by the strikers—about which little has been said or written—included requests for increased allowances for hazardous working conditions and additional vacation leave. Many enterprises contain work stations at which labor conditions have deteriorated because of worn machinery or for other reasons, and these should have been classified as hazardous a long time ago.

Every enterprise ought to work out its own annual trade union action program which would lead to planned elimination of specific drawbacks. Here we should follow the example provided by innovators who do not merely establish that things are not as they should be, but who search for possible improvements and very often find them.

[Scholl] This attitude would also be useful in the work of national trade union organizations. One sometimes hears criticism of the weakness of the OPZZ central union administration, that is, the federation. It is said that it does not hold any power, and that this is unfortunate. Nevertheless, it would appear that it is quite possible to integrate the efforts of all Polish people—for example, in a vigorous housing construction campaign—and that more can be achieved there than just a unification of the union movement.

[Lubanski] You are right. We are not sufficiently integrated or sufficiently determined in undertaking joint public ventures. We start too many things without consistently bringing them to a satisfactory finish—instead, we merely "tick them off." Thus the working people find that our actions fail to bring any improvement into their lives.

The housing problem is certainly such an issue of paramount importance, especially for young people. They can very significantly influence the development of situations of conflict. No wonder they travel abroad to

work in the "black economy" there and earn enough money to buy their own homes—already very expensive—back here. So the whole union movement faces concrete tasks, starting from union organizations in those enterprises which should produce more and better materials and products to assist housing construction. Voivodship Trade Union Alliance organizations also fail to make use of the opportunities for organizing joint action. They must ensure that people's councils and local administration bodies at last make it their prime concern to prepare sites for housing construction.

To put it in a nutshell, we must be more consistent. And, above all, we must not allow the mechanisms of the reform, or indeed trade union activities, to remain idle, in neutral gear.

### TU Official Interviewed on Miners Issues

*AU2208162488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Aug 88 p 2*

[Interview with Stefan Piwonski, deputy chairman of the Federation of Minders' Trade Unions, by Jacek Lyszczyna: "Trade Unions in the Interest of Miners"]

[Text] [Lyszczyna] What are the most urgent miners' problems and how far have trade unions helped to meet miners' postulates?

[Piwonski] Common wage problems are usually the most controversial ones, but the solution of these problems requires that we should take a comprehensive look at miners' living and working conditions. We must not view them apart from work on Saturdays, apart from the restitution of the privileges of the Miners' Charter, and apart from social services, which give rise to many concerns. The present model of social services, the decisive element of which is run by the coal associations and not by mines, is not the very best one.

[Lyszczyna] There is a widespread myth that miners' earnings are very high. What is the truth?

[Piwonski] Those earnings are certainly not high in relation to living costs. Underground miners have to work shifts, which often last 12 and not 8 hours. They also work on Saturdays and sometimes Sundays. The traditional miner's family life—the wives do not work, but take care of children and the home—is still justified, but economic considerations make it increasingly necessary, especially for young families, to abandon this style of life, which can function with increasing rarity. In connection with the spring price - income operation, our federation resolutely defended miners' interests and critically evaluated the material situation of miners' families in the face of price hikes and costs of living. We signed an accord with the government on wage settlements, which resulted in payment increases for miners. As for the myth that miners' earnings are high, we should realize that it is their work on Saturdays that makes their average wage higher than the national average.

[Lyszczyna] There was much dispute in the past about payments for Saturday work. What is the situation now?

[Piwonski] The wage system for Saturday work was introduced under special circumstances and was meant to mobilize miners to produce more needed coal. But this created an absurd situation, which could not be maintained in the long run. That situation meant that the 5-day weekly wage was not enough and had to be supplemented by a much higher wage for Saturday work. It goes without saying that extra work should be suitably paid for, but the situation must not be such that the wage for normal weekly work is so low that work on Saturdays becomes an economic necessity and compulsion. That is why it is necessary to devise a comprehensive concept of miners's wages.

[Lyszczyna] How does your federation tackle all these problems?

[Piwonski] We carefully examine all miners' postulates and proposals, but we think that most of these problems are interconnected and must be approached in a comprehensive way in order to be solved effectively. We cannot solve all problems in one stroke. We solve them gradually, but we have not been able to solve some of them. But we keep them in mind in our activities, which are determined by the first congress of our federation and by the conclusions of the daily discussions held by miners.

[Lyszczyna] The most discussed issue now is the Miners' Charter. What about restoring the wage privileges stipulated by it?

[Piwonski] The trade unions affiliated with our federation have militated for the restoration of those privileges, which were in force for many years. These privileges apply only to underground miners. Other mining workers have the privileges that apply to other industrial workers. The issue of the Miners' Charter was raised at the first congress of our federation. During the 11 August talks in the Ministry of Industry it was also possible to agree on a draft decree that takes into consideration the proposals and observations of our federation. I have been assured that that decree will be issued this month and will be backdated to 1 August.

### Public Transport Workers Authorize Union Action

*LD2308225188 Warsaw PAP in English 2132 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Lodz, Aug. 23—Chairmen of trade union organizations associating workers of public transport met here today. They said that the economic situation in enterprises differs locally and stressed that enterprises need a uniform and coherent economic system.

The stance passed by the conference expressed support for the OPZZ Executive Committee statement of August 20.

During the conference many unionists voiced their opinions concerning political postulates of the striking groups. The general opinion was that they testify to the using of economic difficulties and social moods which they entail for the goals which have nothing to do with the real interests of the working people.

Participants in the conference adopted a stance in which they demand the realization of the postulates concerning the introduction of the economic sysstem in the public transport enterprises in line with an agreement concluded on April 30 between their federation and representatives of the ministries of transport, navigation and communication, finance and labour and social policy which ended the litigation instituted by the federation.

Unless the provisions are put in effect by Aug. 31, the participants in the meeting authorized the federation to initiate actions ensuing from the law on trade unions without instituting another group litigation, the stance said.

### Veterans Union 'Worried' About Unrest

*LD2308193988 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1840 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The main board of the War Veterans Union (Zbowid) has issued a statement on attempts at disturbing social peace. The statement reads, in part:

We do not hide that we are worried and saddened by the development of the situation in the country. What keeps us awake at night is the lack of proper self-evaluation on the part of some working people, who create our future, who spontaneously or at the instigation of professional gamesters expose Poland's reputation and still poor economy to losses. We accept strivings for just evaluation of work. We do not even condemn exorbitant welfare demands. We feel obliged to point to processes that are dangerous for us all in this situation and we must take a stand against suicidal reactions of people who are less experienced than us.

What makes us sad is the lack of desired effects of planned programs. We are concerned over the lack of concrete and effective activities of state administration. We are irritated by the state of its self-complacency, and what is particularly upsetting is the power of red tape which lasts and does not give in to the reform.

We call on all war veterans to intensify social activity in fields in which they are competent.

We call on all to honestly work, not to weaken homeland and not to demoralize youth. Let us prove that we are worth independence which was fought for with such toil.

Today people who devastate their own and national accomplishments do not impress anybody. Today's world appreciates laboriousness and rationalism, honesty, knowledge and richness.

Richness means not only material welfare. Beggars are people with no motherland, patriotic ideals and culture, who offer their country as prey to vehement forces.

Let us not permit to weaken the country. Like in the past, in case of the war emergency, also today we ardently come out to defend the country which needs peace and intensive, constructive work.

### Walbrzych Defense Committee Discusses Situation

*LD2308183188 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*1400 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] A meeting of the Voivodship Defense Committee was held in Walbrzych today under the leadership of Voivoda Wladyslaw Piotrowski. It was attended by Czeslaw Staszczak, head of the political and training service and deputy minister of internal affairs; Jozef Nowak, first secretary of the party Voivodship Committee; and Major General Zdzislaw Rozbicki. The meeting assessed the sociopolitical situation and the state of public order in the voivodship, with particular attention paid to the situation in the hard coal mines.

### Voivodship Defense Committees Hold Meetings

*LD2308220188 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2110 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The voivodship defence committee in Tarnobrzeg met there today to discuss the socio-political and economic situation in the region. The body said that the strikes in "Stalowa Wola" steelmill arise great concern of the residents of the region.

The committee obligated the voivode to impose the summary procedure in cases examined by misdemeanour courts. The procedure to be put in effect on Aug. 24 covers all the cases of violation of law related to illegal strikes.

Also in Legnica, the voivodship defence committee assessed the state of order and public security in the region. It stressed the need for the strengthening of public discipline and law and order.

A meeting in Walbrzych was devoted to the sociopolitical situation in the region with particular attention devoted to the developments in coal mines.

### Wroclaw Orders Summary Misdemeanor Proceedings

*LD2308144388 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] The Wroclaw voivoda has issued the following order:

Summary procedures are introduced at misdemeanor courts in the city of Wroclaw and Wroclaw Voivodship for the following offenses:

—participation in public gatherings held without permission;

—failure to leave gatherings when ordered to do so by security forces;

—use of premises to hold meetings without permission from the authorities;

—conducting private sector business without permission from the relevant state administration organs;

—posting of posters, announcements, and drawing or writing on public buildings without prior consent of the owners of the properties involved.

The order on summary procedures in misdemeanor courts is introduced today and will remain in force until 31 December.

### Summary Procedure Introduced in Warsaw

*LD2308205088 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The Warsaw president [as received] introduced summary procedure before misdemeanour courts with regard to some cases in the Warsaw Voivodship.

Summary procedure has been introduced for three months and has been in force since August 22.

### Wroclaw Leaders View Socioeconomic Situation

*LD2308175688 Warsaw PAP in English 1642 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Wroclaw, Aug. 23—First Secretary of the PUWP Wroclaw Voivodship Committee Zdzislaw Balicki and Wroclaw Voivode Janusz Owczarek met today with metropolitan of Wroclaw, Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz to discuss the current social and economic situation in Poland and in the voivodship.

Both sides pointed to the need for continued efforts of society, state and church aimed to reach social peace and conscientious work to lift the economy and the development of democratic methods of management.

It was stressed that reforms of the state and of the economy can be implemented only in conditions of order and national agreement. During the meeting underlined was also the role of the church and its care for the moral condition of the nation, respect for work and its results.

### Further on Meeting

*LD2308152088 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] A meeting was held today in the Voivodship Administrative Office between Zdzidlaw Balicki, first secretary of the party voivodship committee, Wroclaw Voivoda Janusz Owczarek, and his eminence, Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz, the Wroclaw metropolitan. During the meeting they discussed the current socioeconomic situation in the country and in the voivodship.

A joint communique stresses that both sides note the need for constant efforts by society, the state and the church to attain social peace, and also for conscientious work toward improving the economy and developing democratic methods of rule. Only in conditions of order and national accord can the state and economic reforms be realized. The role of the church, and its concern for the moral health of the nation and respect for labor and its results were noted. The also discussed matters related to ecclesiastical and church construction.

At the end of the meeting the Wroclaw voivoda thanked the cardinal for passing valuable medical equipment gifts to the Wroclaw health service.

### 23-24 Aug Strike Situation Update

*LD2408082588 Warsaw PAP in English 0030 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—Strikes were still under way on Tuesday, August 23. A part of the crews of 11 mines were on strike in the Katowice Voivodship because the "Lenin" mine in Myslowice-Wesola and the "Marcel" in Wodzislaw Slaski joined in the strikes on Monday while the strike at "Andaluzja" in Piekary Slaskie ended.

Groups of miners wishing to start work gathered in front of the "Marcel" mine on Tuesday. They were not, however, let inside the mine by a 200-strong group which proclaimed the strike. The whole crew of the mine numbers over 5,600.

In the "Lenin" mine in Myslowice a group of 500 people took control of the marking shop and did not let miners in or out at the order of the self-proclaimed committee. The crew of the "Lenin" mine numbers over 8,200 employees. In the case of both new strikes, the managements suspended production activities. The miners who were not allowed into the mine by the strikers signed declarations of work.

After a meeting held in the late evening on Monday between the representatives of the crew of the "Murcki" mine in Katowice and the management of the mine and trade union activities, a communique was published in which the economic postulates forwarded by the striking mines were endorsed while all matters of political nature were rejected. The "Murcki" mine is continuing normal extraction.

A new situation emerged at the "Andaluzja" mine in Piekary Slaskie where a shift of miners wishing to start work forced their way through a wired entrance and entered the mine in the afternoon on Tuesday. Everything seems to indicate that the painstaking effort of restoring the mine to normal exploitation is under way.

The national economy is painfully feeling the impact of the illegal strikes in coal mines of the Katowice Voivodship. All in all, according to date from August 23, the forced stoppage of mines means that 417.8 thousand tons of coal worth 5 billion 251 million zloties was not extracted. Foreign buyers will not receive 121 thousand tons of coal worth over 6 million dollars.

In a decree issued today, the voivod of Katowice imposed a curfew on the city of Jastrzebie-Zdroj from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. until further notice.

The port still stands idle in Szczecin. It is sustaining considerable losses, estimated at nearly 100 million zloties daily. The port is also losing international prestige. 12 ships are currently in Szczecin. The Dutch "Aardenburgh" general cargo ship left the port after the shipowner decided not to wait for the cargo to be loaded. The number of ships awaiting entry to port has also dropped. Earlier on the "trade carrier" ship sailing under the Cypriot banner sailed away after failing to (?take) 16,250 tons of metallurgic products. The "Prime Congreso" from Cuba also sailed away to seek other ports to handle its cargo. The "Espenhain" from the GDR will not unload its phosphorites in Szczecin.

Ships are being handled continously in Swinoujscie.

A sit-in strike pursued by a dozen-so shipbuilders is still under way at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. Work is being continued, however, on ships in which work is much advanced and which are to be supplied to buyers in the nearest future.

A one-day illegal strike ended in the morning today at the rolling stock repair works in Wroclaw.

The whole crew of the factory of railway engines of the "Cegielski" metallurgic works resumed normal work in the morning today as well. The hitherto strike committee of this factory has been transformed into a negotiation commission which will start talks with the management of the factory about the postulates which were forwarded.

The situation at the second factory striking on Monday at the "Cegielski" works, the locomotive and wagons factory, changed on Tuesday. A group of 120 people from among the thousand-strong crew of the factory began an illegal strike there. Because the discussions held on Tuesday by the first shift made it impossible for the whole crew to work normally, the management of the factory announced that people who do not want to or cannot work in these conditions can leave the factory and go home. As a result, all the people not taking part in the illegal strike left the factory. They were followed by the group of strikers, including members of the strike committee.

The sit-in strike is still being continued at the tool shop of the "Stalowa Wola" steelworks today. About 120 people took part in it. A 15-strong group of workers is on strike at the moulding forge department. The participants of these actions forwarded a demand for the legalization of "Solidarnosc" and the re-instatement of people dismissed from the steelworks for trade union activities. These demands have not changed since the strike was started, that is, since Monday. The strike is carried on by barely 2 percent of the crew of the works. Activists of former "Solidarnosc" are leading it. The remaining part of the crew is working on its work posts without giving in to pressure from the strikers.

70 miners did not start work at the second shift at the "Walbrzych" colliery. The "Barbara" and "Victoria" shafts at the "Victoria" mine are not operating either.

## Citizens Express Increasing 'Concern'

*AU2408113488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Aug 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "They Told TRYBUNA:"]

[Excerpts] The illegal strikes have continued yet another day. The list of losses is growing, and yet we will all have to pay the bill for them. Social concern is increasing, and therefore anxiety as well. This is what people have said to TRYBUNA:

Wladyslaw Kurdziel, technician at the "Dorzow-Ursus" mechanical plant: "The government is receiving a wave of criticism about the reform because of inconsistency in implementing it and incompetence in reducing inflation. Generally, this criticism is justified.

"But is there any sense in solving our difficult problems by means of strikes? Can reducing production improve our standard of living?

"This is nonsense. We remember 1980 and 1981, when our country was brought to the edge of the abyss by strikes and by anarchy in plants. That is why it took us so long to normalize our foreign relations. Now the world is once again convinced that we are an unreliable partner." [passage omitted]

Artur Beben, professor at the Krakow Academy of Mining: "It is true that so far the government has failed to fulfill a series of commitments that are important to improve the standard of living of the average Pole. But I do not think the desperation of workers in the largest Polish enterprises justifies reaching for a weapon that is considered an ultimate move—strikes." [passage omitted]

"Of course one has to struggle for one's rights and negotiate, but not in a way that causes nothing but losses." [passage omitted]

Andrzej Borkowski, craftsman from Lodz: "For a hard-working man, and I consider myself to be one, striking must cause concern, especially if it is against a political background. To be honest, we still have not regained our balance after the previous unrest. Are we to create a new chaos, disgracing ourselves in the eyes of the world once again? Are we really incapable of resolving thorny issues through talks?" [passage omitted]

Kazimierz Marciniak, employee from the "Pomet" metal plant in Poznan: [passage omitted] "There are many ways of solving difficulties. But for me, a Poznan man, the ultimate weapon—strikes—is a weapon that cuts both ways. The April and May strikes proved this. It means brandishing a hatchet from which the most innocent are bound to suffer, and which can only cause the country harm."

## Gdansk Strikes Continue, Leading 'Nowhere'

### Demands 'Unrealistic'

*LD2308170088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Illegal strikes by part of the work force in 12 hard coal mines and eight other enterprises are continuing. In the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard an occupation strike with the participation of several hundred shipyard workers is continuing. Nevertheless, work is continuing in the shipyard on ships at advanced stages of construction, which are to be handed over to owners in the nearest future.

Part of Gdansk port is not working. Here is a pronouncement on this subject acquired by our Gdansk correspondent Andrzej Niklewicz.

[Begin recording] [Niklewicz] Wojciech Przewieda, the chief director of the maritime trading port in Gdansk.

[Przewieda] Every day of the stoppage of the port will cost us a loss of income at a level of Z115 million, including, well, almost 50 million [currency not specified] of hard currency income. It is, I think, not a trifling matter that each day brings about a decrease in the fund for the payment of bonuses from profits for the work force, at a rate of Z3.3 million per day.

My talks with the work forces of those sectors that have declared a strike have not brought any results so far. Despite expansive arguments of an economic type, no one is convinced. My first meeting with the work force of the fourth sector, which was the first inflammatory strike center...[changes thought] As a result of these talks, it was discharged. Nevertheless, a person who is not currently an employee of the port—and this person is the head of the enterprise Solidarnosc committee—not being able to stand up to economic arguments, declared at the end the following words, directing these words to people who happened to be in the quarters where the talks took place: Friends, these are not economic matters. Our point is political. And so, the issue, I think, is clear here, the direction the development of the situation is aimed at. There are currently in the port 30 ships, a tonnage of a 356,000 metric tons. These are goods needed in Poland and goods which we are exporting. At the moment, seven ships are waiting in the roads. The economic situation of the enterprise for the 7 months was very good. We informed the work force that the strike is a road leading nowhere. It can only undermine the results of our 7-month-long work. The demands put forward by the strike committee are, in practical terms, unrealistic.

According to our assessment, currently the most difficult situation reigns in the Gdansk port's fourth sector, known popularly as the northern port, where four large ships are waiting for the loading of coal. This is, after all, our export, a very important source of the inflow of hard currency. Serious losses are also incurred by the stoppage in sectors where the transshipment of general cargo takes place. In this situation, I turned to the work force with an appeal to all responsibly minded port workers not to stop work, and to the striking workcrews for the immediate commencement of work. Quite simply, we think the strike madness is a road leading nowhere. [end recording]

### Walesa, Merkel Address Meeting

*LD2308173688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Here is the news from Gdansk. Today passed with a pattern of normal work in most enterprises in the tri-city. Unfortunately, a few hundred workers of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard and also the work forces of the first, second, and fourth zones of the Gdansk maritime trading port continued to strike. The fourth zone is, quite simply, the northern port. The work force of the second zone left the port at 1400, while the port management was holding talks with the second shift that had arrived at the zone. The aim of the talks was to convince the workers of the need to work, if only because of the losses ensuing from the nonservicing of vessels, direct losses increasing hourly, and indirect ones that will appear later. Quite simply, owners will start sending their ships to other ports. Unfortunately, these talks failed, and the work force of this zone decided to continue its strike.

At 1230 in the Gdansk shipyard a meeting between Lech Walesa and Jacek Merkel and journalists began in the hall of the central canteen, at which strikers were also present. The two gentlemen leading the meeting informed journalists that the strikers have basically only one demand, that in their opinion solves all matters. This demand is the legalization of the Solidarity trade union. This will be an expression of indispensible, union pluralism in their opinion. The meeting took place in a heated atmosphere and lasted more than 1 and ½ hours.

### Officials Rebut Michnik's Claims

*LD2308210288 Warsaw PAP in English 2039 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 23—A press conference for foreign newsmen was held at St. Brigida Church in Gdansk today.

A score of professional opposition activists, of whom none is associated with the maritime economy through their lives or work, presented their own wishes and dreams as reality at the conference.

Adam Michnik announced that strikes began at the "Wisla" shipyard in Gdansk and the northern shipyard named after the heroes of Westerplatte. And what is the real state of affairs?

Czeslaw Ryrak, the director of the "Wisla" shipyard stated: "Our shipyard has not stopped work for one moment." Deputy director of the northern shipyard Jan Mlodzinski stressed: "The whole crew of the shipyard is working despite the calls for strikes made by the agitators who arrived from the outside."

### Situation Remains 'Unchanged'

*LD2408093388 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] The situation in the tri-city that we have been reporting on for a few days remains unchanged. Three zones in the Gdansk trading port are on strike, including the fourth zone, that is the northern port. There are 31 ships in port and a number are waiting in the roads. One day of idleness in the Gdansk trading port represents $15 million in losses, not counting zloty losses.

Part of the Gdansk shipyard work force is also striking. Attempts are also being made to interrupt work at the Gdansk repair shipyard. Apart from that, life in the tri-city is continuing normally.

### Prosecutor Begins Inquiry

*LD2408112088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] A communique has been issued by the regional Prosecutor's Office in Gdansk:

In association with the illegal strikes in the Gdansk shipyard and the maritime trading port and the lack of reaction to calls for subservience to the laws in force, the regional prosecutor's office in Gdansk has begun investigating the organization and direction of these activities that contravene the law.

For these reasons, the following persons have been summoned to the prosecutor's office: Alojzy Szablewski, Wojciech Bojanowski, Marian Macko, Edward Szwajkiewicz, Zbigniew Stefanski, Wieslaw Laskowski, Andrzej Tymanowski, Bogdan Taraszkiewicz, Lech Molodzinski, Ireneusz Lenka, Kazimierz Pucharczyk, Stanislaw Osipowicz, and Jan Chala.

The investigation is in progress.

## Several Miner's Strikes Continue, Others End

### Coal Official Appeals for End

*AU2308130888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 88 p 3*

["Appeal by the Director General of the Mining Group to Miners"]

[Text] Katowice—Miners! I address all of you, those who are working and those who have staged sit-in strikes in recent days, perhaps having succumbed to emotion. I appeal to you and to your miners' feeling of responsibility to discuss all the problems that are disturbing you without exerting pressure in a way that is most dramatic of all, especially in mines, in other words, by means of strikes.

We shall duly examine all your claims and postulates. We shall take justified interests into consideration, and together we will tackle their fulfillment, just as in the case of the Miners' Charter, which is now being "thawed out." However, this requires calm and restraint, which encourage common sense, which in turn is one of the most important qualities of a miner.

Strikes not only make businesslike discussion and reaching an accord difficult, but as we know from the not so distant past, they also lead to tension and economic collapse; and then to inflation, a further devaluation of currency, and a shortage of goods. This makes it impossible to improve the standard of living of our families, which after all is what we are all concerned about.

So I appeal to those on strike. Stop your occupation of the mines and return to work. Every day, every hour of stoppage of a mine means irredeemable losses, an accumulation of which worsens the country's economic situation and therefore the chance of fulfilling your expectations as well.

To those who are discharging their professional duties calmly and faithfully, I warmly thank them for their work.

On behalf of the leadership of the mining group: Jan Szlachta, director general.

### Rescue Official on Dangers

*LD2208230288 Warsaw PAP in English 1922 GMT 22 Aug 88*

[Text] Katowice, Aug.22—Asked what sort of hazards may result from coal extraction stoppage in collieries, particularly when the mines are insufficiently protected by proper technical services, director of the central mining rescue station in Bytom Bogdan Cwiek told PAP:

"A longer stoppage of mining from extraction beds primarily leads to the collapse of roofs and filling in of parts of galleries which means entombing the equipment placed there.

"This is connected with fire hazard. In such conditions coal oxidates autogenously, so in certain situations temperature may gradually rise to considerable levels, leading to self-ignition of headings. This already happened in the "Andaluzja" colliery where fire fighting is currently under way.

"The greatest hazard, threatening with incalculable aftereffects, is connected with methane endangerment existing in many collieries in the Rybnik coal basin. Resulting collapses cause disturbances in ventilation of collieries, and consequently, the concentration of methane may grow causing explosion.

"The reports reaching the central mining rescue station show that the danger threatening collieries under strike is incomplete at the moment, as we do not receive full data from all the collieries which should be systematically sent to our station," Cwiek said.

The hitherto stoppages at the Silesian mines (up to August 22) mean losses in extraction of 299.7 thousand tons of coal, worth 3 billion 884 million zloties in selling prices, PAP learned from Emil Siudy, the director of the planning team at the hard coal community.

Each day without work means losses of approximately a billion zloties.

Export losses, currently totalling 89.1 thousand tons of coal worth 4 million 455 thousand dollars, are also a consequence of the strikes.

### Strike at "Andaluzja" Mine Ends

*LD2308200288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Address by "strike organizer" Kazimierz Switon to miners at "Andaluzja" mine in Silesia; date not given—recorded; first sentence is announcer's introduction]

[Text] Reports from Silesia: The strike at the Andaluzja mine is over.

[Switon] This is my view and mine alone. Dear miners, this is not very nice. Are you aware that you have undermined the morale of the entire Polish strike movement? No one has said anything about that. They will throw mud on you. You are losing face by leaving. That is my view, mine alone. What is Jastrzebie going to say? The first mine has already surrendered.

You have completely undermined morale. Could you not have stayed here and remained in place? What have you done, fellows? Just because someone gives in, you all have to give in? If you are weak, then go. But remember, you will not be able to look anyone in the face, you will not, fellows, because you will not be able to.

When Poland is at a standstill, when so many work enterprises are suffering, are surrounded, you are going home. Are you aware of that? Let them drag you out, that is what they are for. You would be leaving with honor. You leave with honor if they take you out. But running away, fellows, running away? Just because some kid or other has said here that Kiszczak has spoken and that frightened you. Why does he not come in by force instead of tricking you? You are going soft, like softies. You have held out firmly for 5 days, and now you are giving in, fellows?

You know, I did not expect this of you. But I am sorry, it is too bad. I have done everything I could to help you. If I have to go with you, I will go with you. But remember, mark my words, you have destroyed the morale of the whole process that was born in Silesia. [indistinct shouts and chanting throughout]

### Chief Engineer on Strike End

*LD2308211688 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 23—The second shift of miners wishing to return to work forced their way through a side gate and entered the "Andaluzja" mine in Piekary Slaskie at 2 p.m. today.

Industrial guards took over their posts. The strike ended. A painstaking restoring of the mine back to normal exploitation began.

Right after the strike ended, PAP journalist talked with the chief engineer at the mine, Piotr Lipka. Excerpts:

"The crew itself takes the credit for such an end of the strike. Including that part of the crew which remained under psychological—and not only—pressure of the organizers of the strike. Miners started escaping from the occupied mine in large groups in the early morning. Seeing this, the self-proclaimed strike committee ordered a complete blockade of the mine. I proposed a democratic solution: Open the gates and then we shall see how many of you will stay on. All in all about 570 people escaped or left the mine up to 1:30 p.m., 409

people from the second shift wishing to work entered the mine. About 150 people remained in the mine with an intention to continue the strike.

"The strike committee began debates. It decided to put to vote the issue of ending the strike. The committee proposed to continue occupying the meeting hall or to move outside the plant. Nearly 100 percent of the strikers opted for the latter solution. At that time the wives and children of the strikers showed up. It is difficult to describe what happened next because the women began dragging their husbands home."

Asked what arguments were used by those wishing to continue the strike, Lipka replied:

"These were not miners from our mine. I said from the very start that we have a wise crew which only allowed itself to be manipulated by professional political players. Kazimierz Switon and Bazyli Tyszkiewicz rank among them. Both of them sweared [as received] at those who decided to end the strike.

"The last strikers left the mine at 4:34 p.m. At the same time I would like to firmly dismiss any suspicions and insinuations, which we are expecting, that law enforcement forces, the militia, ZOMO [Citizens Militia Motorized Reserves] and the like intervene here. It was the majority of the crew which decided that it was senseless to continue the strike.

"The fire hazards are being dealt with now. 409 people are working in the second shift. We will start production on August 24 and it could reach about 60-70 percent of our production capacities. The economic losses of the 'Andaluzja' mine total about 47 thousand tons of coal worth about half a billion zloties. One must must make up for this in order not to lose financially. Now, however, the miners must get some sleep."

### Riot Police Disperse Strikers

*AU2408083288 Paris AFP in English 0827 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 24 (AFP)—Polish riot police forced their way into a colliery at Walbrzych, Upper Silesia, to disperse striking mine-workers occupying a building, an informed source said early Wednesday.

Some 150 workers had locked themselves into the mine's cloakrooms when riot police broke in the door late Tuesday and forced them out, the source said.

As of early Wednesday, the troops were still inside the mine boundaries and security forces were patrolling the perimetre, the source added.

Meanwhile, police continued to arrest militants of the banned Solidarity union throughout Poland, according to various sources.

Reports said 17 Solidarity activists were arrested on Tuesday in Polkowice, and nine, including Polish Socialist Party leader Jozef Pinior, in Wroclaw.

Officials say 50 people have been arrested but opposition members say the figure is much higher.

### Miners 'Barricade Themselves In'

*LD2308222488 Hamburg DPA in German 2128 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—In the'30 Years of People's Poland' coal mine in Jastrzebie, 136 miners have barricaded themselves in, Solidarity sources said today. They went into the mine this evening, after the television speech by Internal Affairs Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, together with the chairman of the strike committee, and intend to come to the surface only when their demands have been met.

In Wroclaw, the chairman of the banned Socialist Party (PPS), Jozef Pinior, and Solidarity supporters Jolanta Skiba and Czeslaw Borowczyk were arrested for failing to appear in court today, where they faced charges of urging people to strike in a Wroclaw plant during the wave of strikes in April. They were forcibly brought before the court by security officials.

### Curfew Imposed in Jastrzebie-Zdroj

*LD2308180188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] A special session of the voivodship Defense Committee took place in Katowice following [Interior Minister] General Czeslaw Kiszczak's television address. Prosecutors have started investigations into cases of unlawful leading of strikes. Abbreviated procedure before misdemeanour courts is in force. A curfew has been introduced on the territory of Jastrzebie-Zdroj between the hours of 2300 and 0500.

### Strikers' Still Receive Food

*LD2408090288 Warsaw PAP in English 0825 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 24—In reply to rumours concerning food shortages, the strikers' spokesman at the "Manifest Lipcowy" [July Manifesto] colliery in Jastrzebie stated that the miners are catered for by a kiosk on the colliery's premises. The spokesman did not deny that a large part of the food is provided by the church sources.

In "Manifest Lipcowy," "Morcinek" and other collieries work canteens and kiosks. [sentence as received] The food is also provided by families of strikers and miners who normally work, carrying on protective works in the mine.

The director of the colliery and the demand of the law-enforcing forces protecting the colliery made it sure that food deliveries will not meet any obstacles.

### Strike at "Lenin" Colliery Ends

*LD2408082488 Warsaw PAP in English*
*0650 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 24—The illegal strike at the "Lenin" colliery of Myslowice-Wesola, near here, ended last night.

Due to illegal sit-in strikes coal is still not mined at 10 collieries of the Silesia region, southern Poland.

At all other mining plants coal-mining operations proceed as usual.

### Wroclaw Leaders Meet Workers

*LD2408092288 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*0500 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Zdzislaw Balicki, the first secretary of the party voivodship committee, has met with Urban Transport Enterprise workers. The leadership of the Voivodship PZPR committee, the voivodship administrative office, and the mayor of the city have also been visiting Wroclaw work enterprises.

Tadeusz Kramasz, the chairman of the voivodship control and audit commission, was at the Pafawag works; Stanislaw Pelczar, secretary of the voivodship committee, in Hutmen; Boguslaw Klaszc Zewski in the river shipyard; Janusz Pawlikowski in Pilmet. In the Wroclaw Voivoda, Janusz Owczarek was at the Dolmel works; deputy voivodas Stefan Mlynarowicz and Ryszard Rafajlowicz were at the PZL-Hydral works, and Wroclaw Mayor Stefan Skapski was at the Elwro electronics plant.

### Szczecin Police Storm Bus Depot

*AU2408101488 Paris AFP in English*
*1008 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 24 (AFP)—Polish riot police and army troops stormed a bus depot in the large Baltic sea port of Szczecin on Wednesday to force out strikers who had occupied the building, an informed source said.

Units of ZOMOs—riot police—and uniformed soldiers cleared some 250 workers out of the premises, the source said. Strikers, offering no resistance, remained together and went on to a nearby church which they then occupied, the source added.

Police seized all buses in the depot.

This was the fourth transport depot in Szczecin to be evacuated by security forces since Monday. One bus depot remains occupied by several hundred workers, sources said. [passage omitted]

### Suspected Strike Organizer Apprehended

*LD2308180488 Warsaw Television Service in Polish*
*1730 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Bogdan Arczewski, employed at the streetcar depot in Golecin, has been apprehended in Szczecin. He is suspected of organizing an unlawful strike. Persons summoned in connection with the strike at Szczecin's municipal transport enterprise are reporting to the prosecutor's office. Two of these were released after questioning when it was established that they had played secondary roles in organizing and leading the strike.

### Port Director Issues Communique

*LD2308154388 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish*
*1500 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] The director of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board has published a communique. Here is its text:

Szczezin, 23 August 1988: Communique of the main director of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board.

I inform workers of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board that I am opening a central registration point for workers willing to undertake work. The registration point is located in the Portowiec Enterprise Club, Batory Square, and will be open on 24 and 25 August from 0600-2200.

The points that have been issuing special passes to workers of the Szczecin-Swinoujwcie Port Board are being closed. Special passes for workers of enterprises located in the Szczecin port authorizing access will be issued in the port fire brigade guard house in Bytomska Street.

[Signed] Main director of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Board, Engineer Jan Wieclawski.

By 1500, almost 900 workers had registered

### Two Poznan Railway Factories Resume Work

*LD2308163188 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1521 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Poznan, Aug. 23—After resuming work by the entire crew of the railway engines plant of the H. Cegielski (HCP) works in Poznan, western Poland, the situation also changed today at another HCP plant, which was on strike yesterday, namely at the locomotives and freight cars plant.

On Monday a group of 120 persons out of the over 1,000 strong-workforce of the latter plant went on a wildcat strike. As discussion which took place during the first shift today practically made it impossible to maintain the regular rhythm of work of the entire crew of the factory, the department's management said that those who did not want or could not work in those conditions were allowed to leave their work posts and go home.

As a result all those who did not take part in the strike left the factory. They were followed by a group of strikers, also including members of the strike committee. Only a few technical inspection workers remained at the factory's hall.

### Negotiators To Talk With Management

*LD2308150988 Warsaw PAP in English*
*1345 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Poznan, Aug 23—The whole crew of the railway engines plant at the "H. Cegielski" metallurgic works in Poznan started normal work this morning. On Monday, some 100-strong group downed tools, founded a strike committee and put forth some political and economic demands.

On Tuesday morning, after the whole, more than 900-strong crew came to work, discussions began at work stands. Rational arguments and realistic attitude of these who did not participate in the strike influenced the scarce group of their striking fellow workers.

After the discussion the workers decided to end the strike and resume work. The hitherto strike committee transformed itself into a negotiating group which is to enter talks with the management concerning their demands.

### Metallurgical Complex Working Normally

*LD2408085688 Warsaw PAP in English*
*0827 GMT 24 Aug 88*

[Text] Poznan, Aug. 14—Normal, regular work continues in all the factories of the "H. Cegielski" metallurgical complex in Poznan as from Wednesday morning.

Working crews of locomotive and railway cars and also aggregate and traction engine factories in Poznan, in which work stoppages occurred in the past two days, also undertook regular work.

### Stalowa Wola Strikers Demand Legal 'Solidarity'

*LD2308175488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish*
*1700 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Stalowa Wola]

[Text] In the largest industrial enterprise of the south-eastern region, the Stalowa Wola steelworks combine employing more than 20,000, some 150 people from the tool-room are conducting a sit-in. Yesterday they were joined by about 20 people from the forging press department. Also at the works they are agitation processions by the strikers who, shouting "come with us," proceed from one department to the next but without much of a result. The press spokesman of the Stalowa Wola steelworks tells us that the reminder of the work force is working normally.

The striking group has not officially submitted any demands, but they appeared in leaflets distributed at the works. They concern the legalization of the former Solidarity and reinstatement of employees dismissed for activity. This demand seems to be totally unfounded because these employees had been given work. But now they are in the leadership of the striking group in the midst of which people who are not employees of the Stalowa Wola combine have been been seen.

### Material and Moral Costs of Strikes Weighed

*AU2208154488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*
*19 Aug 88 p 1*

[Editorial: "Solidarity"]

[Text] The legally formulated rules governing collective disputes do not rule out strike action. This is an important workers right stemming from the August-September 1980 accords. The sides in these accords agreed that if all other methods of safeguarding workers rights have failed, one can resort to this ultimate measure. Ultimate because it is the most costly, in a material sense and in a moral sense.

The situation in Poland is weighty; price increases are affecting the standard of living and diminishing a feeling of social security; supply and organizational difficulties, coupled with changing and not always cohesive rules, are reducing the possibility of increasing one's wages even if one works hard and conscientiously; and innovations only reach the surface of practical life after a great struggle. This is all true. Quite recently, at the seventh plenum, our party criticized the situation in Poland and firmly indicated the path of essential changes.

For several days, we have been faced with illegal strikes at the "July Manifesto" coal mine and the port of Szczecin. They are occurring under the headline of politics and wages. The first category is aimed against the state, and the second against the economy. The state and the economy are very vague concepts. However, the strikes affect the solidarity of working people most of all; in fact they erase this solidarity.

The coal shortage is disrupting the entire economy. Every tonne of lost coal always bears a high price on the domestic market and in foreign trade. But this price increases twice as fast when times are hard. People in other plants are waiting for this coal; production, and therefore wages, depend on a steady extraction thereof. Hospitals in need of medicines are waiting for the foreign currency to be earned by this coal. A port is a gateway to the world. Its closure, even for a short while, causes irreparable damage in the shape of unloaded goods which then decay. No one will compensate us for this.

Even if all the postulates were fully justified, the price of fulfilling them would hit at workers solidarity under our present conditions. Other spheres of working life would suffer. This is not in accordance with workers class custom and with the traditions of mining.

The solidarity of the working world is one of socialism's great values. In fact, socialism, as a movement aimed against injury and exploitation, gave birth to solidarity. It is based on a feeling of responsibility not just for oneself and one's own affairs. Yet again, the solidarity of working people has been put to the test. One has to bear this in mind today, tomorrow, next week.

### Foreign Ports Used During Strikes

*AU2208160388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Aug 88 p 2*

[PAP report: "Transit Via Rostock and Hamburg"]

[Text] Szczecin—Every fifth tonne of goods unloaded and reloaded at Szczecin and Swinoujscie is in transit through Poland. It has taken us years to win foreign clients. But while there is a strike in Szczecin, foreign clients are already saying that they will not send their ships to Szczecin. The Czechoslovak bulk carrier "Praha" was carrying 32,000 tonnes of ore that had been procured in India and was destined for the CSSR—via Poland. The Czechoslovak client told the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority that the vessel would be rerouted to Rostock. A Hungarian client was supposed to receive a shipment of ilmenite carried by two vessels. He was told that the ships would be rerouted to Rostock or Hamburg. It will probably be the same with a vessel carrying 310 tonnes of fish meal for Hungary. The ship will not sail into Szczecin. Foreign clients want reliable partners.

### Overseas Trade Negatively Affected

*LD2308115488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] The continuing strikes in Poland are beginning to have a negative effect on our overseas trade exchange. Our foreign trade partners, uncertain of the implementation of contracts, are beginning to seek other, more reliable suppliers. Our trade attaches in our embassies in Helsinki, Copenhagen, and Stockholm are noting a deterioration in opinions about Poland as a stable partner. Coal contracts that involve delivery deadlines may be threatened. Very often, a client of this type [words indistinct].

### Katowice Losses Exceed 5.25 Billion Zlotys

*LD2308162488 Warsaw PAP in English 1513 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 23—Poland's economy is gravely affected by the illegal strikes in collieries of Katowice Voivodship. The enforced stoppage of work in coal mines means failure to extract 417.8 thousand tons of coal worth 5 billion 251 million zlotys, including today's losses. The foreign partners have not received 121 thousand tons of coal worth over 6 million dollars.

The losses caused by the part of collieries' working crews will affect entire society and also the country's power industry in this coming autumn/winter season.

### Rail Losses Estimated at 7 Million Zlotys

*LD2308120588 Warsaw PAP in English 1029 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Szczecin, Aug 23—The wildcat strike which continues at the local port causes losses not only to the Szzcecin-Swinoujscie port and the Polish foreign trade.

Early Tuesday morning, there were 1,159 freight cars carrying coal, timber, general cargo and metallurgical goods waiting to be unloaded at the Szczecin port Centralny Station. Local railway workers have estimated the losses at 7 million zlotys. At the same time, the freight cars which might be needed to carry other goods, have been excluded from operation.

The last few days saw a slight decrease in losses as the freight cars were directed to railway stations outside Szczecin. However, at the same time five trains carrying rape were waiting near Szczecin for further decisions and unloading.

### Coal, Steel, Other Sectors Count Losses

*LD2308230488 Warsaw PAP in English 2229 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—Here are several examples showing the scale of growing losses because of the stoppages in striking factories:

The absence of coal supplies has already caused a 25 percent reduction in the production of coking coal at the Zdzieszowice plant. Further reduction in the deliveries of coal poses a threat of a drop by half in the production of coke, stopping of its exports and halting the supplies of coke oven gas to the network in south-western Poland, managing director of the Katowice main enterprise supplying raw materials for steel mills Tadeusz Torz said.

A big furnace no.1 in the Katowice steel plant was stopped today. The steel mill will not produce about 6,000 tonnes of pig iron, 7,000 tonnes of steel and 6,000 tonnes of semi-finished steel. The stocks of coking coal at our storage yards should amount to about 12,000 tonnes and we have only 3,500 tonnes, main dispatcher of the steel mill Bogdan Kiernozycki told PAP reporter. In order to ensure the production of the steel plant's own rolling mills, the supplies of semi-finished steel to other steel mills were completely stopped.

The "Trade Carrier" Cypriot ship, that waited in vain for 16,000 tonnes of metallurgical products to be loaded into its holds, left the Szczecin roadstead today. The port

and the national economy lost 163,000 dollars. The "Primero Congresso del Partido" Cuban vessel, waiting for general cargo, left the roadstead and saled to Rostock. The losses rose by 100,000 rubles. The "Aardenburgh" Dutch general cargo vessel, whose shipowner decided not to wait for the load of general cargo, also left Szczecin.

Also, railwaymen are counting their losses. 1,159 freight cars with coal, timber, general cargo and metallurgical products waited to be unloaded on tracks of the Szczecin central port station today.

### Economic Results of Strikes Viewed

*LD2108152888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 21 Aug 88*

[Excerpts] Editor Jerzy Kowalski is talking about the economic results of the miners' strike in Silesia and the port workers in Szczecin.

[Kowalski] We are talking at high noon and I feel as if it were midnight and somewhere in a cemetery. Our country is once again beginning to be dismantled at an intensified pace. A poor country, a supposedly reformed country, a country from virtually every viewpoint considerably detached from developed countries. We don't even really know what to do in a situation like the present; countries like the United States, the FRG, and Great Britain quite simply have a way of proceeding, which has been established for years, in accordance with the law, effectively counteracting losses. However, in those countries the national income is as a rule several times higher than ours and temporary disturbances in production and service don't cause any disruption. At the same time, rich and well-organized states have all kinds of necessary reserves. We don't have, we live virtually on a knife's edge.

Please look at the helpless—as if for children—title of an article printed in the paper: Strikes don't solve our problems. To whom is that truth addressed? Who has to be reminded of it? After all, mature people are on strike and their leaders and organizers are probably not badly informed as to what can be achieved and caused by strikes.

There is a basic question which all Poles must answer in this scorching August of 1988. For whom and against whom should one be? Whether to take a mouthful of water and pretend that it has nothing to do with me, or whether by one's own views and opinions influence in such a way the strikers and all those who from the administration are responsible for maintaining order in Poland, which wants and must free itself from the old economic order, one could say chaos.

No one has yet counted how many people at the moment are on strike—10,000, 20,000, maybe 30,000. I don't know. I know one thing—that it is 0.002 or 0.003 percent of society, at the most 0.1 percent. I also know how alarmed, for example, various friends of mine from Warsaw are, particularly the elderly. They are frightened that there will be power cuts, no heat in the winter, that they won't be able to cook with gas, that prices will rise even more. They are afraid of discomforts and poverty. And many of them consider themselves to be defenseless, that no one will speak out on their behalf, that the situation will develop in an unrestrained manner, that there are those who stubbornly want to force the satisfaction of their own interests, and will attempt to get what they want at the cost of society.

Miners and dockers are on strike; I don't count the transport workers as the losses caused by them are practically less, although naturally also (?large). People are tired, irritated, late for work; often they are transported by special means, which are more expensive, but on the whole they are destroying our standard of living less. I also don't know at all, like most of the listeners, who is predominant in the strike. Is it authentic miners, those from heavy, physical, and dangerous work, or is it representatives of the administration of the mine, or the office worker employed above ground, or all those who want to prosper? It's the same with the dockers.

While we're on the subject, can one imagine a farmers' strike, for example, in protest of too low contract purchase prices or too high machine prices? It would be carried out by farmers ceasing to harvest cereals, letting it rot, ceasing feeding and watering their livestock, letting it die, ceasing milking cows and letting their udders burst. No one can imagine something like that, including me. I believe this for two reasons: That social group, despite the fact that it feeds us, was never spoiled by the authorities for cucumbers picked on Saturday or milk collected on Sunday. Thus the farmer knows exactly where he stands; he harvests all Sunday long if need be without batting an eyelid. At the same time, the farmer knows that it's his, that nature's goods cannot be wasted. And coal? A coal mine which might catch fire, be flooded, come under pressure from a rock mass, crushing a coal combine, which cost tens of billions [currency not specified]? It is as if it doesn't belong to anyone—let it go to waste. That is also the result of years of a policy of putting everything into the development of heavy industry as a basis of socialist development, the result of great priorities for the so-called fuel and energy lobby.

In describing the situation carried out by the Council of Ministers, it is pertinently written that some of the strikers' demands unfortunately signify a demand for a return to an ineffective and compromised centralized command distribution system. However, I would humbly add that that system still continues to exist to a considerable degree in the mining industry, and the present strikes could be precisely a protest against the outpost of the reform which is beginning to take a look at this branch too.

I would divide the losses caused by the strikers into two groups: first, moral; some could also talk about political. The world, with which we must make partnerlike cooperation—because otherwise we'll never come out of the

crisis—is again looking at the country in the center of Europe and might draw the conclusion that it is a very disappointing partner. One cannot trade with it, nor import from it, nor consign services to it.

Millions of Poles looking at what has been called an illegal strike, in other words breaking the law, see that the law is very flexible. It suffices to call people together, shout, and one can look at the legal regulations with a wide margin—the main strike, and later Solidarity strikes. And for example, a young Pole sees that he can join in solidarity with people not working, with selfish people, with people showing disdain for the principles of reform, with people who don't take into consideration the economic possibilities, with people who day in day out are taking away [word indistinct] millions and have no pangs of conscience about it, people who are applying force to colleagues who want to work. [passage omitted]

Ladies and gentlemen, I am really not going to say any more about this, as throughout my entire professional life I have tried to talk about the thrift of Poles. Excuse me.

### Foreign Reaction to Strikes Reviewed

*LD2308225788 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2138 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] New York, Paris, Tokyo, Bonn, Aug. 23—In light of the continuation of strikes in Poland, Western commentators more and more often write on the strikes' detrimental impact on Poland's economy.

A typical article was published today by French daily the "LIBERATION". Its author Francois Came arrives at the conclusion that the continuation of sit-in strikes in coal mines will lead to a serious downfall of the flow of hard currency and even to a greater degree will aggravate Poland's economic difficulties.

The author also stressed that the strike action took place in a period when visible signs of improvement in Poland's situation appeared.

Japanese "YOMIURI SHIMBUN" of Aug 22 wrote in a similar tone: "If strikes in the mines continue they are sure to exert impact on the economy. That is why the government struggling with an enormous foreign debt undertakes, as it seems, tough measures".

The Warsaw correspondent of the West German DPA agency Renate Marsch assessed that "The strikes in Upper Silesia and in the Szczecin port hit the Polish economy in its vital nerve, decisive for its functioning-...which in effect threatens the economic policy of the government with a total fiasco."

Also the American ASSOCIATED PRESS pointed out that the extraction of coal is crucial for Poland's economy and is a significant source of Polish hard currency. Similar opinion was voiced by UPI.

The leadership of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) called on President Reagan on Monday to impose a boycott of Polish goods in the United States as a sign of solidarity with the striking workers in Poland.

The AFL-CIO leadership is traditionally anti-communist and for many years now has used every upsurge of tension in Eastern Europe to heat up the moods of hostility towards the socialist countries.

On Tuesday, U.S. President Ronald Reagan was to sign a new trading law with one of its clauses providing for the possibility to apply sanctions against a country "which does not respect rights of its workers." President of the AFL- CIO Lane Kirkland expressed a hope that the clause would turn out to be an "effective sand serious tool" which could be used against Poland.

The spokesman for the U.S. Department of Commerce on Monday night refused any comments on the demand of boycott forwarded bdy AFL-CIO.

### Gdansk Priest Appeals to West for Strikers' Aid

*LD2308204288 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2004 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 23—Father Henryk Jankowski presented an interesting perception of the inviolability and sovereignty of the Polish air space, the dignity of the Pole and the like at Tuesday's meeting with foreign newsmen at St. Brigida Church in Gdansk.

Complaining about the allegedly difficult situation of the participants of the wildcat strike at the shipyard, he appealed to the whole West for "immediate material assistance even if it had to be carried out in the form of airplane drops..."

Regardless of the fact that nobody who is sane would compare the situation around the shipyard with the siege of the Jasna Gora monastery, it is interesting how for example Premier Margaret Thatcher would receive a proposal of this kind if it was issued, say, by the spiritual mentor of the former leader of the striking British miners Scargill.

One should doubt, however, that such an idea would ever cross the mind of an Anglican pastor.

### Gdansk's Bishop Goclowski Examines Strikes

*LD2408050788 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] These days, the attention of world public opinion is again turned toward Poland. According to agency reports, 200,000 people are on strike around the country. Last Sunday we conveyed the Katowice bishop's pastoral message in connection with the strike, and yesterday that

of the bishop of Szczecin and Kamieniec. Today, we have asked Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski, ordinary of the Gdansk Diocese, for a telephone statement. Please go ahead.

[Goclowski] In connection with the feast of the Holy Mother of Czestochowa, which, as every year, will take place in Jasna Gora on 25 and 26 August, the bishops' ordinary will meet for their, let's say, routine conference. I am convinced that the conference as usual will take up issues which are of vital concern to the people. And at the present time these issues are extremely difficult. The working classes again—and we could say regretfully—through their social protest wish to claim their fundamental rights. I say "regretfully" because, after all, there ought to be other methods of getting their just civil rights. Since 22 August—that is, since yesterday—there has been another strike at the shipyard.

The church, as we all know, wants to do everything possible to bring about a meeting between the state authorities and the authentic representatives of the working classes. As far as I know, the working class is constantly declaring their willingness to hold this meeting. And that is why I believe that this meeting may come about in the immediate future, perhaps even in the next few hours, because unfortunately time is pressing. That is what we pray for.

The Gdansk church is going to unite in prayer, especially during the feast of the Holy Mother of Czestochowa, while this Sunday in the Gdansk churches my message, which I publish every year on the anniversary of the social agreements, will be read out. It seems to me that Gdansk has a (?particular) duty not to overlook this anniversary.

On the 18th anniversary of the signing of the social agreements I write in my message, among other things: The end of August also tells us to think back to the anniversary of the event which awakened such great hope in Poles' hearts. It is now 8 years since this event, which is comparable to the greatest events in the history of Poland. At that time, after days of difficult but responsible negotiations, state representatives and representatives of the working classes signed at the same table. Then the whole nation breathed a sigh of relief, while the international community honored with the Nobel Peace Prize the man who by way of dialogue, rejecting the method of struggle, strove for guarantees in social agreements of the fundamental rights of the working people, who do not want to be merely hired men but authentic masters and to share prosperity and law and order in their own state.

In my letter I also emphasize the point the Holy Father made in his teaching last year here, on the coast, both in Gdynia and Gdansk, in which he provided an authentic interpretation of what he and the church understand by the concept of solidarity. Anyway, the Holy Father said in Zaspa that the agreements of 1980 remain to be fulfilled. A socio-moral order in Poland is what we all desire most of all. But reflections on this subject cannot be purely theoretical.

After all, we are talking about the holiest of things—that is the people's own homeland. The sociopolitical system, or perhaps its distortions, has made it so that people say "they" about their own state, about its functioning, and about the structures of that state; and they stand aside from all these things, they do not identify with their own state, because they more readily associate that state with a specific political party which is ideologically alien to them.

We all see what practical effects this has. The body public has to govern itself by inviolable laws, and not respecting these laws brings about chaos in every field. Just as it is not possible to deceive the human body, because that affects his health, so the body public cannot be deceived without damage to its functioning. Real life confirms that the state structures above all have to respect the people's sovereignty and their identity, since that is the way the creative energies inherent in people are activated. And such state activity would contribute to the proper development of the people in every walk of life.

The situation in which our homeland currently finds itself is, of course, deeply alarming. In general, everyone is in agreement on this. After all, it is enough to look around—the state of the economy, the organization of national education and the health service, the alarming phenomenon of emigration, the constant threat of protest by the working classes, the lack of enthusiasm in the creative communities, the alarming tendencies which exist in the Polish countryside, and on top of that the big surge in alcohol abuse which is constantly with us. And all these problems, which the public speaks about with concern, are even more frequently taken up openly in the mass media.

But no amount of even the most competent and frank sociological analyses is going to be a substitute for action. The phenomenon is even more dangerous in light of the fact that a certain acceleration is noticeable in the modern world, and hence stagnation means a catastrophic recession. Also, in this we ought to see the cause of the emigration of highly-qualified persons, Poles who see no opportunity for self-realization.

So, we cannot say that there are no problems. We cannot say that the workers' social protest is some kind of personal whim of theirs unwarranted by the situation. And hence, sitting down at the same table, the negotiating table, sitting down to strive to sign some new social agreements, but by now measuring up to the requirements of 1988, is the demand of the moment.

The pope also said in Zaspa that the Gdansk agreements still remained to be fulfilled. The experiences of recent years have shown that society cannot be reanimated through half-measures and superficial actions. It turns out that neither is the so-called consultative democracy sufficient. It is necessary to create authentic avenues for citizens' initiatives and to remove all that which destroys the citizen's creative objectivity and begets passivity, dependence on and subservience to the bureaucratic apparatus. This, as the pope says in his ecyclical "Solicitudo Rei Socialis," begets a sense of frustration or hopelessness, lack of involvement in the national life and an inclination to emigrate, even if it is only the so-called internal emigration.

I raise all this in my letter to the diocese which is going to be read out this Sunday and which, after all, is an attempt or a way, a method, to raise the consciousness of the believing citizens in this country who feel they want to be fully responsible, but who have to have real prospects for their development. I think that that is what I would like to share with the listeners of the Vatican Radio, which serves the pastoral care in Poland so well.

### Historian Sends Letter to Walesa, Jaruzelski

*AU2308093988 Vienna KURIER in German 23 Aug 88 p 5*

[Letter sent by Polish historian Jerzy Holzer to workers' leader Lech Walesa and Polish head of state General Wojciech Jaruzelski in January 1988: "The Future Is in the Hands of All of Us"]

[Text] For 10 years altogether, the situation in Poland has been constantly deteriorating.

At an increasing rate, we are falling back from the circle of tolerably developed countries to the ranks of countries with a backward civilization.

Today, how the blame for the omissions of the past is distributed is no longer important. The only important thing is the fact that those who currently hold Poland's fate in their hands make joint efforts and do everything in their power to overcome the differences in their opinions and interests, which have existed for years but have become irrelevant in view of the imminent dangers. Poland cannot be led out of the depression by economic expertise alone, no matter how well-considered and justified the proposed measures may be. A feeling of hopelessness, disappointment, and apathy weighs upon the country; the poisoned fog of alcoholism, to which an increasing number of people are becoming addicted while fleeing reality, hovers over the country.

In spite of all efforts by the authorities, they have not succeeded in gaining the active support of the majority since the proclamation of martial law. Today, Solidarity, which was very popular in 1980 and 1981, has only a limited number of active adherents. With waning hope, the overwhelming majority of society is waiting for the rulers or Solidarity to demonstrate how the crisis could be overcome. But there are no convincing answers which could fire the imagination of the people and open up a real chance to prevent the catastrophe. The rulers' struggle with Solidarity destroys the authority of both sides and leaves a vacuum.

It is time to make a final attempt to bring about a meeting without preconditions, but with goodwill, between the representatives of those who exercise power in the country and those who, for several or many millions of Poles, embody concern for the interests of the working people. The point is not superficial communication, with each side aiming at duping the other. In 1970 and 1980 we gained experiences that should not be forgotten. In retrospect, it can easily be ascertained that the victories of both sides have been in vain because they upset the balance between the state authorities and the big social groups. It has become evident that, just as society is incapable of solving its problems if the state does not work, the state is equally incapable of subduing society.

Mr Chairman of the State Council, Mr Chairman of Solidarity! Poland's future lies in the hands of all of us, but your fellow citizens look to you, they expect an initiative from you. You still have a real chance to stop the wheel of history at the last moment by joint efforts and the moral support of the church, and to give it a new direction. In the interest of society and the state, I ask you to make an attempt!

### Press Reviewed on Accord Efforts, Miners

*AU2208103188 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 7 Aug 88 p 3*

[Press review compiled by M.K.: "Jigsaw Puzzle and Its Model Picture"]

[Text] For some time now the entire official press has been full of terms and slogans such as "accord," "anti-crisis pact," and "proreform coalition," which "people whose thinking is independent," "constructive opposition," and "prominent intellectuals connected with the opposition," continue to be invited to join. It can be said that this amounts to a significant change since the times when the same activities—thinking about the country's future and airing views in this connection—were termed as "the undermining of principles," "foreign intelligence work," and "the dismantling of socialism" and when the individuals committed to these activities were spied upon, arrested, and publicly condemned as "antisocialist forces," "enemy agents, "extremists," and so on. One could describe this change as progress, but for the fact that those new slogans and definitions continue to be made in the press by the same people. That is why it is difficult to believe that they are sincere.

The simple fact is, that he who continues to stubbornly throw mud at certain people for a long time, hoping that it will stick, may be certain that he will get his hands

dirty, but can never be sure that his mud will stick to his victims. But, as Ewa Szumanska wrote recently, it is not polite to sit at a table with dirty hands. However, it is not only credibility and clean hands that are at stake. The thing is that the present political rather than economic situation (everyone can see what the economy really is) is beginning to remind us of the not-so-distant past about which Wojciech Mlynarski sang in his song on the subject of children who tried to solve a jigsaw puzzle, but every time they produced something that did not jibe with the model picture.

The situation as presented by Mlynarski in his song has changed to the extent that if you carefully read the press, you will notice that there is a picture that jibes better with the jigsaw puzzle than with those pacts, accords, dialogues, and coalitions.

The thing is, that for some time now, Minister [of culture and art] Krawczuk has been touring the country to meet with creative people "holding different orientations." Reports on those meetings are full of encouragement to support accord, but from time to time you can find out what really happens at such meetings.

The report published by issue 30 of the Poznan weekly WPROST states that Egon Naganowski said this when discussing the party proposal that "all people who are in favor of partnerlike cooperation should be recruited to the existing structures of the Union of Polish Writers:" "Mr Minister, this is exactly the situation in which some robber ransacks your house, throws you out of it, and even appropriates your name, and then after a time tells you that for the sake of 'accord' he graciously agrees to let you dwell with him in your own house and share with him your own name." However, only the minister's reply made clear the difference between the jigsaw puzzle and the model picture. "I do not agree with the statement that the new union has appropriated anything because... the old union possessed nothing. It was maintained by the state, and that is why the authorities were formally entitled to do whatever they pleased with what they leased to the union," WPROST quoted him.

In a word, we are back at square one. The entire dialogue and accord boil down to the fact that "the authorities are formally entitled to do as they please."

How that formal right is implemented in practice at the grassroots level—at the "Andaluzja" coal mine, for example—and not in the upper literary and intellectual regions, is demonstrated by issue 31 of GOSC NIEDZIELNY published in Katowice. In his report "Observations," Andrzej Grajewski describes the fate of a group of miners who wrote a letter to GOSC NIEDZIELNY and revealed a number of defects and shortcomings: "First of all, meetings were held at the mine, at which much was said about those miners who had written that letter to GOSC NIEDZIELNY and who were described as incompetent and undisciplined individuals. They were then discredited in the eyes of other miners and their authority was destroyed. Some time later they were all transferred from their previous job positions to keep them away from their colleagues, after which individual action began to be taken."

For now, all authors of that letter have been punished either by reprimand or by the loss of a day's pay. Since this punishment was registered in their records, the miners have been automatically excluded from standing for election to any of the coal mine's social bodies, which must, of course, be officially approved. Any other body is out of the question as attested to by the fact that one of the punished miners had already been punished previously for "trying to divide the workforce" when he told his workmates about efforts to register an independent trade union.

But other facts cited by Andrzej Grajewski clearly show that the need to set up an organization to defend the miners' rights is growing. The economic compulsion to work on Sundays is becoming increasingly universal. When an Andaluzja miner who noticed how television continued to harp on miners' high earnings sent his wage slip to the Teleexpress department, showing that his earnings amounted to Z23,300 without Saturday and Sunday work, he was told that his observations would be used during off-the-air hours. No doubt, this miner is yet another candidate for disciplinary punishment.

**Reasons for Rudna Strike Analyzed**
*AU1908150188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Aug 88 p 3*

[Jerzy Nogiec and Wojciech Walczuk article: "Rudna: The Anatomy of Conflict"]

[Text] Exactly at 1100 on 9 August the alert sirens went off in the Rudna, Lubin, and Sieroszewice mines in the copper basin. Television monitors in control rooms showed how workers laid down their tools and stopped the machinery. At the same time, hundreds and hundreds of trade union activists began talking with workers at their posts to explain trade union efforts to settle the claims that workers had presented to the management of the Lubin copper combine and to the central authorities in the past months.

Half an hour later the entire complicated mining mechanism was again set in motion. On that very day the miners fulfilled 103.4 percent of their planned tasks.

At the headquarters of the independent and self-governing trade union of Rudna workers, a group of activists discussed the results of their warning action and drew up a plan for further actions. The trade union banner over their heads read: "Let the law always mean the law; let justice always mean justice."

Wieslaw Katny, member of the trade union board and press spokesman for the Rudna trade unionists seemed to be referring to that banner inscription when he said:

"We are interested only in ensuring that the authorities treat in an honest and just way our workers and their efforts in their dangerous daily work. We want the authorities to objectively consider our demands which we have presented to ministries, managements, and trade union forums in the past 2 years.

Piotr Przybyla, deputy chairman of the Rudna trade union said that negotiations might continue for a long time, but not ad infinitum, and that there is a limit to one's patience, but that this limit had been overstepped a long time ago. We had to say "enough!" Our warning was made in earnest, and if they continue to treat us as things, we will employ even harder forms of pressure.

All trade union activists agreed that it is impossible to understand the position and determination of the trade union without recalling the events of 1984-85.

At the time when the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform was being discussed, one of the disputed questions was privileges for individual groups of workers. In the mining industry those privileges were considerable, because the basic wage accounted for merely 25 percent of earnings and—without going into details—the rest was made up of various supplements, including those listed in the Miner's Charter.

During talks on wages, government representatives' arguments bordered on blackmail: If you do not agree to new wage conditions, you will not get any increases. On the second ballot, a very slim majority of the members of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions agreed to sign a new wage accord, which waived certain wage regulations and froze supplements.

Alojzy Macioszyk, secretary of the organizational board, said that the trade unionists lacked imagination at that time, because the 12-percent increase agreed upon was worth a slice of bread, which was devoured by inflation.

Inflation reduced the worth of mining wages, and miners began making determined protests. As a result, the government provided a "remedy" in the form of Decree 199, which granted a 300-percent increase in wages for work on free Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. Miners' earnings increased considerably.

Some workers let themselves be lured by those sweet incentives. Zbigniew Cieslak, member of the trade union board, said: Some miners, including even trade union activists, reasoned that they should take anything offered and that if the situation becomes bad, they should protest. We cannot forgive them for that. Earnings did increase, but only because miners actually had 2 days off in a month.

It was not only the trade unionists that agreed that the wage situation was inadmissible. Confirming the April and May positions taken by its executive committee, the plant committee plenum in Rudna obliged the management to streamline the organization of voluntary work on Saturdays and Sundays, to provide wage funds to be administered by departments and shops, to increase cash incentives for conserving materials, and to introduce economic accounting in departments.

This resolution did not produce any satisfactory results, but trade unionists saw that the party was behind them.

Katny said: The press continued to write about the high wages of miners, but their average earnings were the same as those of workers in some other branches of industry. How large those earnings were can be judged by the fact that we are short of 20-25 percent of miners who would work at the face [of copper ore deposits].

The introduction of paybooks entitled "The Miner" was another remedy to assuage discontent. Wages earned during holidays are recorded in these paybooks, which are supposed to guarantee that holders are able to buy rare goods in special shops, but, as Adam Fetke, treasurer of the trade union board, said, the trouble is that these shops sell goods that are little better than the goods in ordinary shops. That is why, he continued, the federation asked for the Law on Enterprise Wage Systems to be modified. After many promises and postponements, it was only on 17 June that the Sejm modified that law.

Why then those sharp protests and the warning action? Katny said: Well, they were results of the fact that the ministerial authorities—actually the Ministry of Industry—continued to ignore our demands. We are still without executive decrees.

Katny continued: The practice of the past years has made some people firmly convinced that if miners do not create a "rumpus," they will achieve nothing. We are not for getting at one's throat. We are for meaningful arguments and we continue to make them, but last May we found out once again that methods other than persuasion help to accelerate the settlement of certain problems.

That was that 3 May in Rudna that provoked so many contradictory opinions....

Katny said: To explain those misunderstandings, let us review those events and list the people behind them. Between the first and the second shifts, a group of workers from the firms employed at the Rudna mine organized a rally at the western shaft and called for a strike in order to coerce improvements in wages. Some 600-700 people, including Jan Jakubowski, our chairman at the time, attended that rally. During talks with Wladyslaw Grodzki from the Lubin mine, who organized the rally, and with other sponsors of it, it became obvious that their demands were like our own trade union demands. It is true that our trade union was accused in severe terms of doing nothing and that some people called for a strike, but we reached accord in the

end and designated a joint team to negotiate with management. When negotiators went away to deliberate, about 250 people, including some 40 from Rudna, stayed behind. At the same tine, Jakubowski guaranteed full protection for the organizers of the rally. This was actually the end of the main event, and workers went down the shaft to work.

This event was proof that many miners did not know what the negotiations with the authorities were about, how long they would continue, what they would produce, and what trade unions were doing in this connection. In the end, 11 demands on wages and better working conditions were drawn up and the strategy of further negotiations with the authorities was coordinated.

There was no discussion of political issues or of Solidarity, although at the beginning of the rally someone shouted about political prisoners and about the freedom of consciences.

Our talks with management began.

While talks between the trade unionists and Grodzki's group were going on, telephones started ringing. One call was from REUTER's Warsaw bureau, whose representative read alleged demands of the "strikers" discolored with political tones. Another was from Mr Wujec, an activist from the former "Solidarity," who insisted that the strikes should go ahead and called for support for the strikers in the Gdansk shipyard and Nowa Huta. Soon after this, "Radio Free Europe" telephoned, reporting on a major strike in the mining basin and its anti-government nature.

So there really was this "third call," as the trade union activists claim there was, from someone quite well informed about what was happening in the mining basin. A quick reaction from the trade union, honest argumentation, and explanations about what was happening dispelled any illusions. Everyone calmed down.

The combine's management dealt with the matter in a businesslike way. They considered the demands justified and possible to settle on the spot. In accordance with these demands, the management upgraded all miners by one grade, which improved their material situation, and paid them the money they were due, together with a considerable bonus from the profits. Director General Miroslaw Pawlak issued a memorandum giving specific dates by which technical working conditions and social facilities would be improved. In accordance with an earlier decision, a letter was sent to the Sejm marshal about an amendment to wage agreements, and an appropriate letter was also sent to the trade union federation.

"Things were clearly moving ahead, about which the work force was informed continuously and exhaustively," said Grodzki, "but of course, it was impossible to settle everything overnight. Working out a schedule for improving working conditions in such an enormous plant takes longer than 1 or 2 months."

As it happened, the organizers of the 3 May rally were poor students, so an exercise was set for them. On 29 July, this very same Grodzki and a few colleagues of his organized another rally, to which 200-250 people came. "This time, the tone of their speeches was somewhat different," said Alojzy Macioszczyk.

Grodzki said that the demands had not been fulfilled, that the union was doing nothing, and that it was necessary to strike to enforce their fulfillment. Janusz Grott, newly-elected chairman of the "Rudna" independent, self-managing union, gave a reply to this. He explained in a way that left no doubt in anyone's mind that most of the demands had already been fulfilled and others were in the process of being fulfilled, of which anyone could convince himself by reading the trade union communique posted throughout the plant....and by examining the thickness of his wallet.

Then Grodzki produced a leaflet and read it out aloud: "Because of haste and a failure by the trade unions and combine management to fulfill the demands put forth on 3 May, the mining commission of the independent, self-managing trade union "Solidarity" hereby states that the present trade unions do not represent the interests of the miners." There followed a list of authorized representatives from every plant.

"This is where our paths diverge," said Grott. "From now on, you are on your own, and the union will not protect you."

The miners dispersed. Factory buses took them home.

"An amendment to factory wage systems already exists," said Zbigniew Cieslak, "but every law requires rules of implementation. Despite constant pressure from us, these rules are still absent. This is doing nothing to release the workers' tension, of which people who have nothing in common with miner's interests are keenly trying to take advantage. Using demagogical slogans, they are succeeding in injecting tension here and there. We are also trying to point this out to our negotiators all the time, but our conviction does not convince them. All they do is send us telex messages. Here are a few of them; they solve nothing. When we organized our 30-minute warning strike on 9 August, Grodzki and company interfered and expressed a stance that was not so much surprising as it was funny. Before holding this warning strike, we staged a broad information campaign to explain to all the workers why we were doing it and what we had in mind. Generally, we said that we wanted to put pressure on the ministry to fulfill the Sejm's decisions, in other words,to improve miners' standard of living."

Yet again, the party organization came to the aid of the trade unionists. The party organization's executive committee said: "The factory trade union's action is correct and justified. We will render their decisions political support. We believe the factory trade union has displayed great energy and has given the administration enough time to settle in an affirmative way the correct demands of the work forces concerning factory wage systems."

What did the group that calls itself the "Solidarity" mining commission have to say to all this? It issued a leaflet calling for a boycott of the trade union protest! However, 97 percent of the workers did answer the trade union's call, so these gentlemen suffered a total defeat. This shows what "influence" they have over the workers to whom they constantly publicize themselves.

Work is proceeding normally inside the mines of the copper mining basin, and no excitement is visible. However, from what people say, it appears that everyone is still waiting. PS: On the evening of 11 August, a draft Council of Ministers decree was formulated on the subject of applying the Law on Factory Wage Systems to the mining sphere, taking the Miners' Charter into consideration.

## July Inflation Termed 'Record' High

*AU2308175588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 88 p 4*

[D. Vucinic report: "July 'Record' of the Decade"]

[Text] This year's level of inflation, calculated on the basis of the average monthly price increases from January to July—as the competent experts in the Federal Price Institute and in the Federal Secretariat for the economy have recently calculated—should amount to 169.1 percent according to the prices of industrial products, 157.5 percent according to retail prices, 187.5 percent according to the price of services, and 140.8 according to the cost of living.

This, therefore, is a far from encouraging forecast. This would mean a huge breach of the envisaged annual rate of inflation of 95 percent, and it is known that the consequence of this in the first place is a drastic fall in personal income and in the standard of living in general.

The target rate of inflation means that until the end of December, all the increases, calculated according to retail prices, should not be more than 95 percent above the prices at the end of last year. It is difficult to believe that there is any hope of achieving this aim because until the end of July industrial prices, for example, increased by a total of 78.1 percent in relation to last December's prices. This means that the prices of the means of labor, which in the last 7 months surpassed the annual target rate of inflation by 0.6 percent, theoretically do not even have a 1-percent "breathing" room for further increase. However, the materials for reproduction could increase in price by a total of 17.2 percent in the other 5 months while consumer goods could increase by 20.1 percent; or, the first by a monthly average of 3.44 percent and the second by a monthly average of 4 percent.

However, the first appraisals of the price increase for only August, because of the increases in prices of energy, transport, and food stuffs and other products, warn that the remaining percentages of the "statistically adequate" increases will be spent a considerable amount of time before the deadline, and considerably above the assigned target.

### Fur Then Copper [subhead]

According to data from the Federal Institute for Statistics, in July this year in relation to July 1987, the rise in the price of producers' industrial goods amounted to a total of 197.7 percent. Price increases in all sectors of production had an effect on this year's June-July boom in price rises. The intervals in the current increase are not regular. They range from minus 12.4 percent (for the electrical industry because of the lower seasonal electricity charges) to 209.6 percent (for the production of leather and fur). After leather and fur, the processing of nonferrous metals increased the most in price both last year and this: 205.8 percent in relation to prices last December and 441.4 percent percent in relation to July last year. The production of these same metals is 140 percent more expensive than that in December last year—and 310.2 percent more in relation to July 1987. The increase in the prices of the production of electrical machines and appliances also occupies one of the "leading" places: These products were 127.2 percent more expensive in July than at the end of last December and 247.5 percent greater in relation to last July.

Out of the total number of industrial branches, 20 of these which make up 54.8 percent of the value of sold industrial products increased their prices by more than the average for the industry, and 14 by less than the average. Among these, both this year and in relation to the same month last year, the production of stone, gravel, and sand increased the least in price. These are followed by coal processing and iron ore production, then by the production of beverages and the production of ferrous metals.

### Retail Prices—Greater [subhead]

Retail prices in July increased by 73.2 percent in relation to last December and by 188.9 percent in relation to the same month last year. It is true that the July rise in these prices was almost half that in June, but it was also the greatest rise for this month in the last 10 years.

Had it not been for the market influence of "the green market," it would probably have been greater. The greatest influence on this rise came from the increase in the price of products and services of the food and nonfood industries.

The above-average rise in retail prices for products whose prices are freely formed by associated labor was achieved for means of education and leisure (school equipment and books), for some textile products (socks and ready-to-wear household clothing), and for transportation [words missing] personal hygiene items. This also applies to some products which are under the direct price control (medicines, building materials, and items for plant protection).

Analysts point out that in July the retail prices of goods and services which are under the wider social control of prices, approaching an average rise of 12.1 percent, have effected the total rise in retail prices by more than two-thirds. The prices whose rise collectives have to report to the Federal Institute and to buyers 30 days before they come into effect, increased to a greater extent than those prices which enterprises decide on according to market conditions.

The price of services until the end of July increased by a total of 84.9 percent in relation to the end of last year. During this period, prices of services controlled by the communes increased the most (94.8 percent), followed

by prices controlled by the republics and provinces (77.3 percent), while prices controlled by the Federation increased to the least extent (65.5 percent).

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item.]

With Control and Without It [subhead]

It is interesting to see from the data of the Federal Institute for Prices and Statistics that from January to July industrial products within the branches and groupings where the process are under wider social control increased in price to the same extent—by 78.1 percent—as in those where the prices are formed on the market and according to its conditions.

The prices of products under wider social control rose 8.9 percent faster in July than those which are subject to direct control. This is considered a consequence of a considerably faster rise in the prices of goods whose increases have to be announced by the producers 30 days before they come into effect. In July, these prices rose by 40.7 percent. However, in the same month prices which are formed freely rose at a slower rate—by 12.7 percent—probably also because of the reduction in effective demand.

Seen as a whole, for the first 7 months in relation to the end of 1987, directly controlled prices were increased by 48.1 percent and those under so-called wider social control by 79.9 percent, while services whose prices are controlled by the republics, provinces, and communes rose in price by 89.4 percent.

Review of the Increase in Retail Prices, the Prices of Services, and the Cost of Living in the SFRY, According to the SRs and the Socialist Autonomous Provinces [SAP] in July 1988 (in percentages)

Retail Prices

| Total | July 88 compared to June 88 | July 88 compared to July 87 | July 88 compared to December 87 |
|---|---|---|---|
| SFRY [A] | 11.2 | 188.9 | 73.2 |
| Bosnia-Hercegovina [B] | 9.9 | 183.2 | 68.4 |
| Montenegro [C] | 9.3 | 181.1 | 66.1 |
| Croatia [D] | 13.2 | 194.0 | 78.5 |
| Macedonia [E] | 12.8 | 186.7 | 68.1 |
| Slovenia [F] | 11.9 | 194.8 | 75.6 |
| Serbia proper [G] | 9.9 | 189.5 | 70.3 |
| SAP Kosovo [H] | 6.3 | 183.8 | 64.0 |
| SAP Vojvodina [I] | 11.2 | 177.8 | 70.5 |

Prices of Services

| | July 88 compared to June 88 | July 88 compared to July 87 | July 88 compared to December 87 |
|---|---|---|---|
| [A] | 11.2 | 180.3 | 84.9 |
| [B] | 8.6 | 180.1 | 75.8 |
| [C] | 8.3 | 194.4 | 82.8 |
| [D] | 20.2 | 190.0 | 97.4 |
| [E] | 4.9 | 176.5 | 67.7 |
| [F] | 13.5 | 192.3 | 83.5 |
| [G] | 6.9 | 111.2 | 86.6 |
| [H] | 3.9 | 151.1 | 60.6 |
| [I] | 14.0 | 199.3 | 85.1 |

Cost of Living

| | July 88 compared to June 88 | July 88 compared to July 87 | July 88 compared to December 87 |
|---|---|---|---|
| [A] | 8.2 | 189.5 | 67.1 |
| [B] | 7.6 | 186.0 | 65.1 |
| [C] | 9.7 | 188.8 | 68.3 |
| [D] | 8.5 | 191.9 | 71.2 |
| [E] | 11.6 | 186.2 | 61.2 |
| [F] | 8.0 | 196.6 | 73.7 |
| [G] | 6.8 | 186.9 | 63.9 |
| [H] | 7.5 | 185.3 | 57.2 |
| [I] | 7.9 | 179.9 | 59.6 |

Cost of Living—Slowest [subhead]

The cost of living marked the greatest increase in July. Seen as a whole, at the end of the first 7 months the cost of living was 67.1 percent higher in relation to the end of last year, and 189.5 percent in relation to July last year.

Here is how the expenditure for some articles rose (the first figure indicates the percentage increase in July this year in relation to July last year, and the second in relation to December last year).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Food | 195.8 | 73.3 |
| Tobacco and drinks | 176.2 | 81.0 |
| Clothes and shoes | 166.6 | 57.0 |
| Housing | 194.9 | 46.3 |
| Hygiene and health | 225.1 | 77.9 |
| Education and culture | 198.1 | 85.6 |
| Transportation and post office charges | 170.2 | 70.3 |

## Economic Experts Assess Goverment Policies

*LD2208223288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1353 GMT 22 Aug 88*

[Text] Ljubljana, August 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Government timed and dosed the policy for stabilisation and overcoming the years-long economic crisis well through its interventionist measures, experts at Ljubljana's Economic Institute assessed.

The Institute's analysis points out that key problem now is whether the federal government will persevere with those economic restriction measures since they affect a majority of the population.

After adopting the interventionist measures late in May, the government liberalised prices, imports and the hard currency market, and limited wages and general and joint consumption.

The inflation passed 170 percent in late June and the population's real purchasing power dropped several percent.

The government's May package of measures is an introduction into economic reform which is to secure a liberalisation of the internal capital market, international capital traffic and liberalisation of the labor market.

For all this to be achieved, the Yugoslav Constitution must be changed. The changes are expected to be adopted in late November.

The Ljubljana economic institute's experts assessed that the drop in living standards and wages in the last quarter of this year will cause great social pressures on the government to change its economic policy.

They said that the government should not give way to the pressures because the positive effects of its restrictive policy will be felt after the first quarter of next year.

Any change in system conditions of market operations while the latest stabilisation policy is being implemented would only lessen the favorable results, the Ljubljana Institute said.

The government economic stabilisation policy will be justified if the three-month growth rate of consumer prices stands at less than 20 percent next February, if total real exports increase by at least 10 percent, and the drop in production stands at three percent or less.

The Ljubljana Institute said that the population's real consumption cannot be lowered more than 18 percent.

Changes are needed only in the credit-monetary policy during the first stage of implementing the government's interventionist measures. The Ljubljana experts said the credit-monetary policy must be much more restrictive.

## Prolonged Drought Ruins Expected Bumper Crop

*LD2208102288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 22 aug 88*

[By Branka Stanisic]

[Text] Belgrade, August 22 (TANJUG)—Rain fell in Yugoslavia this weekend after two months of drought but farmers did not relax. Problems remain the same as the drought, the hardest in thirty years, not only decimated this year's yield but also threatens to damage the next sowing in certain regions. The rain properly soaked only the northern and western parts of the country, still avoiding the south which is threathened the most.

After a record-high yield of 6 million tonnes of wheat at an average amount of 4 tonnes per hectare, a bumper year has been expected. But the prolonged drought affected badly all other field crops. Fires destroyed several hectares of fields and forests and many rivers dried up that some parts of Yugoslavia as Istria, south Serbia and Macedonia had difficulties in drinkable water supplies.

Scorched grass, lodged rice, burned vineyards, vegetables riped by force: That is the picture of tropical days and nights in most parts of Yugoslavia with temperatures going up to 42 degrees centigrade. Apart from occasional showers, rain stayed away from the republic of Macedonia for seven months.

The Yugoslav agriculture suffered enormous damage from the drought. According to first reports the damage is over 1,000 bilion dinars or 330 milion dollars in Vojvodina alone, the country's largest agricultural region.

While this year's yield of wheat leaves a million tonnes for exports, three million tonnes of corn planned for exports will not be realized because the chief Yugoslav bread grain fell short by 40 to 70 per cent. Out of the expected 11 million tonnes of maize, only a little over one half will be collected.

Frightened by the long drought, self-employed farmers do not sell maize expecting higher prices. It is expected that corn will soon be sold at a price of 700 dinars per kilogram instead of 450 dinars because the reserves of the "golden grain" in the country are not sufficient to prevent uncontrolled prices and mass slaughter of cattle which has already started in some regions.

The drought has affected sugar-beet as well and the yield has fell from the usual 42 tonnes per hectare to between 35 and 37 tonnes. One-third of the expected yield of sunflower and soybeans has been destroyed by the sun too, so that only 365,000 tonnes of sunflower grain and 150,000 tonnes of soybeans will be collected. This will not be enough to satisfy domestic needs of edible oil alone.

While still waiting for further information on the situation in fields, the Yugoslav Government has received first proposals on emergency measures to alleviate the effects of the drought. It is quite certain that the state will help the agrarian sector to overcome the effects of the loss through various facilities. Experts, however, warn that after the last year's floods and this year's drought, the private sector in agriculture will need a few years to recover. Out of a total of 7 million hectares of ploughland in Yugoslavia, 85 per cent is privately owned.

Agricultural experts also say that it would be bad if Yugoslavia, with all its good chances in food exporting, returned to extensive agricultural production. Yugoslavia has good natural conditions for agriculture, while the genetic potential of its own grain hybrids and varieties is excellent but only insufficiently exploited. Changes in the agricultural policy and the construction of a new irrigation system to cover 100,000 hectares of land—the project waiting to be approved by the federal government—may help Yugoslavia make up for the loss and have its agricultural production become the backbone of its economic development, experts claim.

## Slovene SAWP Replies to Kosovo Serbs

*AU2308151088 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP will soon discuss the proposal made by the Committee for Organizing Protest Meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins From Kosovo to determine if such a meeting will be held in Ljubljana or in Kosovo. This meeting would be attended by 1,000 people from Kosovo or Slovenia, depending on where the meeting would be held. This telex information was sent to the Kosovo Committee today by Joze Smole, president of the Slovene SAWP. Relja Atanasijevic asked Joze Smole for more information about this meeting:

[Begin Atanasijevic recording] In a brief conversation, Joze Smole told me that the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP plans to discuss the Committee's proposal at its next session. According to this proposal, either Serbs and Montenegrins would visit Slovenia, or 1,000 Slovenes would visit Kosovo in order to acquaint themselves with the position of non-Albanian people in the province.

He remarked that the Committee for Organizing Protest Meetings does not initiate its actions in conjunction with the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP. He also said that the secretary of the Provincial Conference told him today that he was not informed about the intention of Serbs and Montenegrins to visit Slovenia.

Summarizing his answer as contained in the telegram, Smole told me that he repeated the well-known views of Slovenia which condemn the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under duress, and that favor equality among the peoples and nationalities, and peaceful and human relations among the people. Kosovo is a Yugoslav problem, Smole stressed. The Slovene SAWP proposes discussing the program for preventing the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo as well as economic and development aid to the province at a Republican Conference session.

This session will probably be held at the beginning of September. [end recording]

## Interest in Solving Problems Seen in Titograd

*LD2308232688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Titograd, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—The solidarity meeting in Titograd, attended by 30,000 citizens, showed that the people and leadership of Montenegro are vitally interested in solving the Kosovo problem and that, within the limits of what is possible, they are contributing to the realization of the stands and conclusions of the highest party and state organs in the country. This was the view expressed at today's joint session of the Titograd LC Municipal Committee Presidium and the Titograd SAWP Municipal Conference Presidium.

It was noted that the official part of the meeting was reflected by civilized and honest support of the majority of citizens for a more efficient resolving of the problem of the non-Albanian population in Kosovo. Strong support was expressed, as well as a demand, for organized socialist forces to resolve the situation in Kosovo more rapidly and responsibly as being Yugoslavia's burning and priority problem.

However, the session also pointed out some phenomena which do not call into question the general assessment of the meeting, but which are very suggestive, politically harmful, and unacceptable. These include some slogans expressed during, and especially after the end of the meeting—calls to arms and unsubstantiated roll-call of some officials in Montenegro and the Federation.

A number of people tried to change the civilized atmosphere of the meeting, among them in particular Batric Jovanovic, who wanted to speak contrary to the agreed proceedings. This was not accepted by representatives of the city's sociopolitical organizations. However, he satisfied his ambitions by speaking after the official part of the meeting to a smaller group of citizens outside the Crna Gora Hotel. This was seen as representing a darker side of the meeting.

Apart from the Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, and members of other nationalities the Titograd protest meeting was attended by members of the Albanian nationality from the territory of this municipality who fully sustained all justified demands for a speedier and more efficient resolving of the problems of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.

### Soldarity Meetings Viewed as Not Productive

*LD2308232788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 23 Aug 88*

["Ljubljana TV Commentary: Intranational Trust—The Only Way to a Solution"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Meetings of solidarity, regardless of where they have been held or where they will be held, are not and cannot provide a solution to the problems which truly torment the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, this evening's commentary in the main news program of Ljubljana television stressed in connection with the proposal that Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo should come to Ljubljana on Saturday. Concluding that such gatherings are "only occasions for emotive outpourings which not infrequently border on militancy and one-sided condemnations of the Albanians, on sowing even greater hostility among the inhabitants of the province," author of the commentary Nina Komparic stresses that "difficulties cannot be resolved outside the environments where they have arisen." She then recommends that "Serbs and Montenegrins should first seek allies in Kosovo, among the Albanians, the Turks, and members of other nationalities who are also struggling against the irredentists. They must struggle together for their rights, for the preservation of the home hearth, for a solution to problems in the legitimate institutions of the province."

"That is why I find the proposal acceptable," the Ljubljana Television commentator continues, "that, if they are to come to Ljubljana, the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo should each bring an Albanian, or a member of another nationality. This would confirm that in Kosovo a struggle is being waged for intranational trust and coexistence, which alone can produce results." The commentary then cites Slovenia's calls for, and its contribution to, solving the situation in Kosovo. "The republican assembly has adopted, the commentator recalls, a program for Kosovo: Slovene industry is implementing that program with 22 projects, which will ensure a total of 5,500 new jobs. Assistance is also being offered by workers in management, from the judiciary, and so forth. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The commentator continues: Concerning the invitation to 1,000 Slovenes to come to a meeting in Kosovo, I ask myself: Don't they know that several hundred workers from Slovenia work every day in Kosovo work organizations? This is a living link between Slovenia and Kosovo. Concluding the commentary, the author stresses that "in connection with all this one cannot escape the impression that behind people's troubles there lie intentions as well which do not contribute to the solution of the situation in Kossovo, nor to coexistence between people."

### Pristina TV Views LCY Handling of Kosovo

*LD2208161588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 22 Aug 88*

[Text] Pristina, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—A Pristina TV commentary broadcast during the daily newsreel last night (in the Albanian language) says, among other things, that Kosovo's top party leadership had served a timely warning of the dangers implicit in protest gatherings on a single-nation basis, provided a competent ideopolitical qualification of this form of public manifestation, and started the discussion about the ideopolitical positions of their organizers. However, the commentary goes on to say, the Kosovo leadership cannot stop these rallies or take measures against their organizers because at the federal level there is no political view on the nature and profile of these gatherings and also because of the misconceptions and resistance to the warnings and direct qualifactions of the LC of Kosovo concerning these gatherings and their organizers.

Answering the question: "Why and for what reason is the LCY Central Committee stance on ending these ignored," the commentary notes, among other things, that "some political factors in some environments do not see anything bad for intranational relations and political system in the country in these gatherings. On the contrary, the commentary says, the gatherings are even described as dignified while slogans and enemy demands heard during these meetings are ignored."

"Any critical Marxist analysis of the evolution of relations in Kosovo and concerning Kosovo and in the Yugoslav area farther afield would spotlight the conclusion that this is a perfidious tactic which is being

incorporated in the outlines of a counterrevolutionary strategy on the social macroplane from bureauceratic, nationalistic, and anticommunist positions and ideologies."

The commentary goes on to add that "the critical mood of the public concerning the situation and the potential energy of the masses to devise a more rapid way out of the crisis, both in Kosovo and in the country, are channeled by these forces in the direction of discrediting the top leadership of teh country and undermining the legal institutions of the system.

### Zavrl, Jansa Issue Appeals Over Court Verdict

*LD2308141588 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Following in the steps of military prosecutor Colonel Zivko Mazic, who is seeking a more severe punishment for those sentenced at the Ljubljana military court trial, an appeal against the verdict has also been lodged by Ivan Jansa and Franci Zavrl with the Supreme Military Court in Belgrade. In the appeal, both are proposing that the Supreme Court alter the verdict and drop the charges or annul the verdict and send the case back for retrial in the court of original jurisdiction.

### Vranje Miners End 2-Day Strike, Reduce Demands

*AU2208191588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 88 p 6*

[M. Pesic report: "Miners Returned to Work"]

[Text] Vranje, 18 Aug—After a 2-day work stoppage, the miners of the Blagodata mine in Kriva Feja, on the Besna Kobila mountain near Vranje, resumed work last night when the crew of the third shift went down to the pit. The production cycle continued when the first shift's miners went down into the pit at 0600 this morning.

Briefing journalists about the strike, Dusan Marinkovic, president of the Communal LC Committee, today said that the miners' demands, which were originally formulated in six points, had been reduced somewhat. Their demands were reduced to the wish for the reexamination of the management's responsibility at the next session of the management board and the basic LC organization. After this meeting, the Workers Council and the basic LC organization will analyze the business activities of the Blagodata mine and, on the basis of auditors' findings, will examine whether there is a chance of increasing personal incomes.

These matters were also discussed by the Workers Council last night, and by the Miners Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection this morning. Tonight, the Communal and Miners Committees for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection will hold a joint session which Tomislav Milinkovic, president of the Republican Council of Trade Unions, and Ljubisav Minic, member of the Presidium of the Republican Chamber of Economy, will also attend.

### Zenica Miners Strike for Wage Increase

*LD2308135888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 22 Aug 88*

[Text] Zenica, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—Miners on the first and second shifts at Zenica's Strara Jama mine did not dig coal today. At an extraordinary meeting they requested a pay increase of 50 percent, and an adjustment to the number of remuneration points for all employees, with most points for those with the lowest qualifications, who in this pit are most numerous. They were joined by mining and construction work workers who prepare uncovered seams.

When they failed to obtain satisfactory responses, they took their demand to delegates of the workers' council of the mines' work organization. A council meeting had previously been scheduled for today. Workers' council delegates said that all that could be promised was a 45 percent pay increase for the lowest paid workers, and not, as the miners demanded, first an increase in the number of remuneration points and then, in addition to this increase, a further 50 percent. They were not satisfied by the workers' council conclusion, so, as a group, they went to the LC Municipal Committee building. The hall there was too small, so they moved into the larger hall of the SAWP Municipal Committee. They did not accept the proposal made by officials in the Municipal Assembly and the sociopolitical organizations that the workers elect a special committee which would examine, with the competent mine departments, the possibilities regarding which requests are justified and which are not.

This conclusion did not satisfy the strikers. They left the meeting and moved into a room of the [word indistinct] of the mine. An extraordinary meeting was still in progress late this afternoon. It is not certain if miners on the third shift will start work.

### Zenica Miners End Strike

*LD2308140788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Summary] Zenica, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Miners at the Stara Jama coal mine ended their 1-day work stoppage at 2000 yesterday after management agreed to adjustments in the value of remuneration points for various categories of workers. An unskilled worker will receive an average pay increase of 41 percent, while qualified workers will receive smaller increases. The problem is finding the extra money, something which will not be easy in view of the losses being made by the coal mines.

**Labin Miners Demand Increase in Monthly Income**
*LD2408020088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1916 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Summary] Labin, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—The monthly incomes of miners at Labin were increased by 31 percent on 1 August. This is in keeping with production results and with legal provisions. This was reported at today's workers' meeting of the first and second shift of the Istrian Tupljak coal mines.

At the meeting, the miners stuck to their demands, made 8 days ago, for an increase of 50 percent; and before the meeting ended it was concluded that within the next 3 days the possibilities for granting another 19 per cent increase should be looked into.

**Suvar, Orlandic Visit Kotor Commune**
*AU2208180588 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 88 p 7*

[Text] Kotor, 20 Aug (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, visited Kotor today. During their visit to the old part of the city, which was not been completely rebuilt after the strong earthquake in 1979, Andjelko Kovacevic, president of the Kotor Assembly, briefed Suvar and Orlandic on the most important aspects of the work on the reconstruction still to be done. After that, he briefed them about the development plans of the commune whose future mainly depends on the sea-related industry and a further increase of the Yugo-Oceania's fleet.

**Mojsov Holds Talks in Debar 22 Aug**
*LD2208173688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 22 Aug 88*

[Text] Debar, 22 Aug (TANJUG)—Lazar Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency, stayed in Debar today. Apart from the town he also visited several settlements in Debar District. Mojsov held talks with representatives of sociopolitical organizations and the community of Debar municipality. Lazar Mojsov held talks on economic and sociopolitical developments in this insufficiently developed municipality.

Lazar Jojsov held talks in Debar District with representatives of several local communities from this region, where a population of about 7,000 Macedonians, Albanians, Muslims, and Turks live. Mojsov also held talks with members of aktivs of Macedonian Muslims from this region.

**Freedom Committee's Criticism of Tito Rejected**
*AU2208192788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 88 p 3*

[TANJUG report: "Can Converted Titoists Be Trusted?"]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Aug—What principles does the recently founded Committee for the Protection of the Freedom of Thought and Expression harbor? This is the question to which Danko Plevnik tried to find an answer in his commentary entitled "Can Converted Titoists Be Trusted?" carried in the latest issue of KOMUNIST.

According to Plevnik, "Principles that members of the Committee adhere to are narrow-minded in a typically Balkan fashion; they have an academically hypocritical style, and carry a retrograde message."

In Plevnik's words, the basis for understanding the Committee's proposal "for a free and critical assessment of the historical role of Josip Broz Tito" addressed to the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, and the Yugoslav public lies in the "assessment that the present unresolved constitutional and legal status of the SR of Serbia is a logical and direct consequence of Tito's national policy which has through the 1974 Constitution led to autonomous provinces with the attributes of state sovereignty only within one republic."

The group of signatories of the proposal to discredit Tito and the national policy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the LCY also includes some of those people who took part in drafting the phantom Memorandum, some converted Titoists, and authors who had contributed their words and deeds to the building of Tito's cult for years, the KOMUNIST commentator says. How is one to believe, Plevnik asks, that what they are doing now is dictated by their free will and that they will not in a few years declare it a concession to a historical moment when one still could not say everything. The Committee's good intentions could have even been believed had it offered to examine the historical responsibility of its own members within the relative power they wielded on the posts they used to hold.

Tito can neither be protected by committees for his protection nor can he be liquidated by committees for his liquidation, Plevnik says. Tito is a legend, a great personality in the world history and in the hearts of many peoples. Does the dead Tito have to give an explanation to ever more lively nationalists and separatists? Plavnik asks. Can there be a better proof for Tito's national policy in a multinational country than the overly discontented nationalists?

I personally do not accept Tito as a communist saint, but not even negative truths from his personal and political life could convince me that there is political need to destroy his significance, and this is not so because of dogmatism, but because of a more definite common

future, the KOMUNIST commentator says. According to him, in this region Tito is much more important as a symbol of intranational balance than as a biographical subject. This symbol does not rest on an idealistic foundation, it is not the matter of political marketing, but results from the strength of the wide strata of peoples, nationalities, the LCY, and the Yugoslav People's Army. Hence, the problem of the Yugoslav public is not whether Tito did or did not do this or the other, but it is the beginning of an end manifested in rejecting the principle of Tito and its replacement with idolatrous nationalism and militant calls to settle accounts among owners, co-owners, and tenants in Yugoslavia, Danko Plevnik points out.

What this implies is a fatal de-Titoization rather than a possible overcoming of mistakes and limits to self-management. We can even abandon the present economic model, but without insults to Tito's principle of strategic brotherhood and operationally equal unity, the KOMUNIST Commentator Danko Plevnik concludes.

**Democracy, Human Rights Body Viewed**
*AU2208152288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 88 p 11*

[Zoran Odic commentary reprinted from OSLOBODJENJE: "The Democracy of One Mind"]

[Text] Readers (and not only those of OSLOBODJENJE) are very grateful to their journalists for everything that they did not publish in the last 7 days. Here are only a few examples: We did not publish the fact that MLADINA in its last issue, along with BORBA and POLITIKA EKSPRES announced that we (OSLOBODJENJE) are the ones that "disturb the public" which, of course, should be sharply condemned—that is, disturbing the public. Fortunately other correspondents from Ljubljana were on annual vacation, otherwise they (and their newspapers) would also have been on this list.

Nor did we write that the Initiative Council for Setting Up a Committee for the Protection of Human Rights within the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference had reappeared with the short announcement, in which it said that "at the session held on 9 August it discussed the reactions to its statement on the Tomo Bogataj case which had appeared in part of the Yugoslav press" and stated in short that "it would not reply to such unfounded and tasteless political and moral denigrations" and that "it was waiting for an answer from the SFRY Presidency regarding its initiative for the protection of constitutionality and legality, an initiative which concerns the activities of the organs of the military security service and the military judiciary."

The Yugoslav press could not receive worse unfounded and tasteless moral and political denigrations, although this behavior could even be interpreted as a compliment to the same press. It should not, therefore, begin to receive compliments for this behavior from the lips and pens of such critics.

The fact that certain members of the same Initiative Council, despite their public promise not to reply to "such unfounded and tasteless political denigrations," fill the pages of the Ljubljana weeklies and appear on the most frequently watched television news program in order to explain their views (the illegality of the judiciary, the illegality of all attitudes and people who claim that laws in a legal state must be respected and not that the "leading fighters" for a legal state fight by proclaiming the legal system illegitimate so that it therefore should not be implemented), only bears witness to their hypocrisy. It is important that the differences between people are produced, albeit artificially. If differences already produce people, then I do not know if it is good that people produce differences, so that they barricade themselves into them and see nothing else apart from them, not even the other people with these differences. Democracy of uniform differences, that is of like-minded people, is in fact that kind of democracy that Milan Kucan recently called "democracy of one mind."

The other sort of democracy was demonstrated by members of the Constitutional Commission who in 4 days successfully smoothed over most of their differences concerning the constitutional amendments. They discussed their differences and not once did one member say to the other that his arguments were unfounded, tasteless, and so on. This is obvious proof that they had not implemented a "democracy of one mind" and Joze Smole must be the one who is most thankful for this. They saved his life and his "scaffold," "gibbet," "noose," and whatever else our peoples and nationalities call the gallows, will remain unused.

**Crvenka SAWP To Discuss Nationality Problems**
*LD2408024788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1747 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Summary] Novi Sad, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the local community conference of the SAWP in Crvenka confirmed at its session today its earlier decision that citizens of this town should meet on 5 September to discuss the problems of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and constitutional changes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. The proposal to hold the meeting in Crvenka on 28 August was not accepted.

At the session of the presidium of the SAWP local community conference, the opinion prevailed that conditions should be created for a normal discussion.

**Serb Officials Send Greetings to Patriarch**
*AU2208185688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 88 p 3*

[TANJUG report: "Greetings to German"]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Aug—The following people have sent greetings to Mr German, patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, on the occasion of his 89th birthday:

Petar Gracanin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia; Dr Borisav Jovic, president of the Assembly of the SR of Serbia; Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia; Dr Desimir Jevtic, president of the Serbian Executive Council; Dragan Dragojlovic MA, president of the Republican Commission for Relations With Religious Communities; and Zivomir Stankovic, president of the Coordination Committee for Relations With Religious Communities of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia.

### No Explosives Found on 'Cast Polar Bear'

*LD2308141488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0910 GMT 23 Aug 88*

[Text] Ottawa, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—The container ship Cast Polar Bear, owned by the Yugoslav company Atlanoska Plovidba of Dubrovnik, today continued sailing towards Montreal, after the Canadian experts thoroughly checked the ship at a small harbour in Newfoundland and found out that it was carrying no explosive.

The international shipping company Cast Shipping, which rented the Cast Polar Bear with the Yugoslav crew of 25, last Thursday received a threat from an unidentified caller that the ship would be blown up unless an 800,000 dollar ransom was paid to a bank account in Budapest.

The whole thing was believed to be a hoax from the very beginning, which has luckily been confirmed. The Cast Polar Bear is a modern freighter, over 200 metres long, carrying 14,000 small containers of general cargo to Montreal.

### Greek Foreign Minister Meets LCY Official

*NC1908191988 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1500 GMT 19 Aug 88*

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias today received Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Presidium. At the meeting, which was held in a warm atmosphere, the two briefly reviewed bilateral relations, affirming the need to further deepen and develop these ties.